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SCOTTISH POPULAR FOOTBALL, 1424–1815

"WHATEVER type of football existed in Scotland prior to 1850, there is no evidence of any attempt to establish, or even to introduce, the form known as the Rugby game until 1851, when it was adopted at Edinburgh Academy as a game for the boys. It should be emphasized that Rugby came to Scotland as a game for schoolboys."[1] Thus Mr. Phillips introduces his account of Rugby as it has prospered north of the Border in recent years, and the present writer can only hope to sketch, not an earlier history of Rugby, but of 'popular' football from the earliest records more or less to the point where Mr. Phillips's narrative begins. The following notes constitute, then, a sort of prehistoric prelude to Mr. Phillips's volume.

The precise type of football played from the reign of James I. of Scotland to Victorian times defies exact analysis, for the records are brief and rarely descriptive. The modern reader must be content with knowing, often in terms of adverse criticism and protest, that some sort of football was being practiced in Scotland, as it was in England,[2] during the period in question. The acceptance of organized football—whether in the guise of Rugby or of Association—comes, in fact, as the climax of a long, if not always honored, tradition.

Football seems to have made its official début in 1424 in a prohibitory act of the Parliament of James I.; along with golf it is forbidden under James II. in 1457, under James III. in 1471, and under James IV.

[1] R. J. Phillips, *The Story of Scottish Rugby*, pp. 1–2, 102. For the beginnings of organized football in England, see R. G. Graham, The Early History of the Football Association, *Badminton Magazine*, VIII. 75–87.

[2] For the medieval period, see F. P. Magoun, Football in Medieval England and in Middle-English Literature, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 33–45. To this material may now be added an interesting reference to an injunction against football in Halifax, Yorkshire, Apr. 20, 1450, noted by H. Ling Roth, *The Yorkshire Coiners, 1767–1783, and Notes on Old and Prehistoric Halifax*, p. 141.

in 1491, although in 1497 the Lord High Treasurer's account shows a 2*s.* item for footballs for the king![3]

In the second canto of his *King Hart,* written between 1501 and 1512, Gavin Douglas gives us a striking picture of old age. Toward the end, King Hart bequeaths parts of his rapidly aging body to various appropriate allegorical figures. To Delivernes or Bodily Activity goes a shin and an arm broken at ball, generally understood by the editors as referring specifically to football:

> Deliuernes hes oft tymes done me gude,
> Quhen I wes ȝoung, and stede in tendir age;
> He gart me ryn full rakles, be the Rude,
> At *ball* and boull; thairfoir greit weill that page:
> This brokin schyn, that swellis and will nocht swage,
> ðe beir to him; he brak it at the *ball:*
> And say to him that it sal be his wage;
> This breissit arme ȝe beir to him at all.[4]

In Sir David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits,* written apparently between 1535 and 1540, an addiction to football is one of the minor failings of his Parson:

> Thocht I preich not, I can play at the caiche;
> I wait thair is nocht ane amang yow all,
> Mair ferlie can play at the *fut-ball.*[5]

Lindsay's Parson, it will be noticed, is the first of a considerable line of football-playing clergy whose names will appear hereafter. If football is a vice of the Parson, it is equally one of the virtues of Lindsay's romance hero, Squire William Meldrum:

> He wan the pryse above tham all,
> Baith at the buttis and the *futeball.*[6]

Here football and archery are happily reconciled and no longer in open conflict.

In a few decades the game was thriving to such an extent in the Burgh of Peebles that on December 20, 1570, it had become necessary to limit its practice:

[3] For quotations and specific references, see Magoun, *art. cit.,* pp. 44–45. On the conflict between football and golf on the one hand and archery on the other, see further, J. B. Paul, *History of the Royal Companies of Archers,* p. 9.

[4] John Small, ed., *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas,* I. 118–119; see also note *ad loc.,* p. 153.

[5] F. Hall, ed. [Early English Text Society, 1869], p. 505, vv. 3411–3413; on the date of the poem, see T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature,* p. 219, and p. 229 for the present extract, also given in R. S. Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland,* p. 144.

[6] *The Historie of Squyer Meldrum,* vv. 1047–1048, David Laing, ed., *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndesay,* I. 193.

The baillies counsale and cummunite ordanis that thair be na playing at the *fute ball* on the Hie Gait in tymes cuming, vnder the pane of ilk persone fyndand playand viij *s.* and cutting of the ball.[7]

Slightly later, Glasgow occupies the center of the stage; football is now not only allowed, but is receiving positive encouragement with the purveying of the balls to the burgh put in the hands of the local cordiners or sutors. The fullest account of this is given in a record of January 31, 1589/90:

In presens of the baillies and counsall, Johnne Neill, cordiner, is maid burges and frieman, ... quhais fienes ar remittit to him for furneissing yeirli during his lyftyme vpoune Fastreinis-ewin of sex guid and sufficient *fut ballis*, or ellis tuentie schillingis as the price thairof, conforme to ane supplicatioun gevin in be the said Johnne befoir the saidis baillies and counsall for that effect.[8]

The general situation described so fully here seems, however, to have prevailed for some years earlier at least; for in the borough accounts beginning February 23, 1573/4, we read, "Gevin to Johne Andro for *futt ballis* . . . xii *s.*"; and on Fastern's-e'en (Shrove Tuesday) of the next year: "Item. To John Andro for sax *futballis* . . . xii *s.*"[9] John Andro, cordiner, furnished footballs yearly at 2*s.* a ball until February 20, 1578/9;[10] later, as we have seen above, John Niel assumed the same duty under highly favorable conditions and at 3*s.* 4*d.* per ball. Nearly twenty years later a John Niel, presumably son of the John Niel mentioned above, was maintaining the shoemakers' association with the game. The Glasgow treasurer's account for February 28, 1609, furnishes the particulars: "Gifin . . . to John Neill, cordiner, younger, for *fute ballis* to the toun, at Fasternis Evin, conforme to the ald use . . . 26*s.* 8*d.*"[11] If this sum is for the delivery of six footballs (as was invariably the case above), the price must have risen to approximately 4*s.* 5*d.* apiece.

From the 70's and 80's of the sixteenth century come two stanzas which describe vividly the dangers of football. The first cited is by

[7] *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles, A. D. 1165–1710*, p. 324.

[8] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A. D. 1573–1642*, p. 149.

[9] On the interesting and special question of Shrove Tuesday (Fastern's-e'en) football, see Magoun, Shrove Tuesday Football, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XIII. 11 ff.

[10] For these payments, see *Extracts, cit. supra*, pp. 451, 456, 459, 462, 465, 469.

[11] *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow, selected from the Minute-Books of the Burgh*, p. 56. It is surprising that William Campbell, in his *History of the Incorporation of Cordiners in Glasgow*, makes no mention of the curious and interesting relations between the shoemakers and football players.

Sir Richard Maitland, who, in his Solace in Age, thanks God that he is too old for this sport:

> Quhen ȝoung men cum*m*is fra the grein
> Playand at the *futball* had bein
> With brokin spauld
> I thank my god I want my ein
> I am so auld [12]

The second poem, anonymous, on the Bewteis of the Futeball, is like the first:

> Brissit, brawnis and broken banis
> Stryf discorde and waistie wanis
> Cruikit in eild syn halt w*ith*all
> Thir are the bewteis of the *fute ball* [13]

In the tradition of Lindsay's Parson is Archbishop James Law, who, while minister of Kirkliston, was censured in 1585 by the synod of Lothian for playing football on the Lord's Day.[14] Not far from this time (*c.* 1595) occurred an early instance of the tradition that a football match might be the forerunner of Border depredations. The matter was discussed by Sir Robert Carey, warden of the English March, as follows:

> It was not long after that my brother and I had intelligence that there was a great match made at *foote-ball,* and the chiefe ryders were to be there. The place they were to meet at was Shelsy [Kelso], and that day we heard it, was the day of the meeting. Wee presently called a counsaile, and after much dispute it was concluded that the likeliest place he (?) was to come to, was to kill the scoutes.[15]

A similar story is told of Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael. On the way to hold a warden's court for the punishment of offenses committed on the borders he was attacked on June 16, 1600, by a body of Arm-

[12] Sir W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript* [Scottish Text Society, new ser., 9, 1920], p. 56, vv. 46–50.

[13] *Id., The Maitland Folio Manuscript* [S. T. S., new ser., 7, 1919], I. 242, item 77. I am grateful to Mr. George Watson for these references.

[14] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (revised ed., Edinburgh, 1915), I. 212. Rather quaintly, J. A. Fairley, in *Lauriston Castle: the Estate and its Owners,* p. 60, doubts the general probability of this scandal!

[15] *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, written by himself* (London, 1759), p. 92; for *'Scottes'* of this first edition I have substituted what appears to be the correct reading "scoutes" of the second edition, published in London in the same year (p. 127). As is explained in an Edinburgh edition of 1808 (p. 76, note), allusion is made to Border sentinels, called scouts, whose duty it was to stop marauders from passing the fords of the Tweed en route for England. This episode caught the fancy of Scott, who refers to it in appendix II. pp. cxlix–cl of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (Edinburgh, 1830).

strongs and shot dead. The circumstances were that the said Armstrongs were returning from a football match,[16] and in the subsequent trial Thomas Armstrong was condemned to have his right hand cut off, to be hanged, and his body suspended in chains for

> haifing, be the instigatioun of vtheris quhais names he knew, consultit, dewysit and interprysit the crewall, tressonabill and schamefull Slauchter of vmq[le] Sir Johne Carmichell of that Ilk, than Warden of the West Marcheis, vpoun ane Soneday . . . att ane meitting at the *fute-ball,* quhair divers borderaris and freindis wes conuenit to that effect. . . .

The remarkably complete Kirk Session Minutes of Elgin, kept in minute detail from 1584 on, furnish us with considerable material illustrating the firm hold which the game had in those parts from December 14, 1598, down at least as late as March 20, 1653. The most interesting single entry is that of December 18, 1618, when "It is ordenit that the superstitious obseruation of auld reitis and ceremonies expresly forbidden during the tyme callit Yooll that they be altogidder awodit [avoided] and eschewit" with specific mention of "gwysing, dansing, singing carallis, play at the fut ball, throch the toun, nor about the Chanonrie kirk and kirkyeard".[17]

On June 18, 1601, the privy council had under consideration the subject of a quarrel which had arisen at a football match at Lochtoun in the Merse. The dispute had been attended with violence, and representation was made by Alexander, Master of Elphingstoun, that William Cockburn of that ilk with John and David his brothers on the one side, and James Davidson of Burnerig and James Davidson of Nodday on the other, while "playand at the *fute-ball* . . . fell in contentioun and contraversie, ilk ane with utheris, and schot and dilaschit pistolettis and hacquebuttis".[18]

If James IV. did play football, James VI. did not, and seized the opportunity of decrying it as a pastime unworthy of a royal prince. In *the Basilikon Doron, or His Majesties Instructions to his Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince,* privately printed in 1599 and published in Edinburgh in 1603, the king debars from commendable exercises of the body "all rough and violent exercises, as the *foot-ball;* meeter for laming then making able the users thereof".[19] In contrast to football he recom-

[16] *Dictionary of National Biography* under the name John Carmichael. Reported by Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland,* II. 364; also, G. V. Irving, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire described and delineated,* II. 16–17.

[17] William Cramond, ed., *The Records of Elgin* [New Spalding Club, publ. 35, Aberdeen, 1908], II. *passim,* and p. 158; *cf.* Index of Subjects, under "Games".

[18] David Masson, ed., *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* VI. 262.

[19] Edinburgh (1603), p. 120.

mends "running, leaping, wrastling, fencing, dauncing, and playing at the caitche or tennise, archery, palle maillé". But whatever James thought of football as a princely sport, he was presumably entertained in witnessing a rural match put on later for his benefit by one Mr. Ferraby while staying with Sir Edward Baynton at Bromham, Wilts.[20]

Profanation of the Sabbath as well as breach of the peace soon becomes an element associated with football matches; as of June 19, 1607, the youth of Aberdeen is charged with conducting itself "prophanelie on the Sabboathes in drinking, playing at *futte-ball,* danceing, and passing fra paroche to paroche".[21] On July 15, 1610, football again led to a breach of the peace with a complaint lodged on December 7, 1611, by Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Byris for His Majesty's interest, by Sir James Douglas of Drumlangrig, and William Douglas, apparent heir, that William Kirkpatrick the younger, of Kirkmichael, Perthshire, and several others, "all armed with certain weapons and with hagbuts and pistolets, under the 'pretext of the playing of a wood *fute ball',* came to the ball green of the lands of Campbell, not far distant from the gate of the place of Drumlangrig, and in a 'bragging manner' made 'provocatioun' to the complainers".[22]

James I. of England's *Declaration of Sports*[23] relative to recreations permissible after divine service on Sunday—often loosely called the 'Book of Sports'—was first uttered for Lancashire in 1617,[24] and on May 24, 1618, for the kingdom at large. The *Declaration* was reissued by Charles on October 18, 1633,[25] and publicly burned in London in 1643. Football is not specifically mentioned as allowed or prohibited, but since the edict includes the saving clause "But withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games" and since legislation against football had existed in the past (as in the case of bowling which is specifically mentioned), it may be concluded that football was not among the games countenanced on Sunday. That James disapproved of the game personally we have already seen.

[20] Sir John Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire* [written 1656–1691] (John Britton, ed., London, 1847), p. 109.

[21] Presbyterie Buik of Aberdein (MS.), quoted by Sir J. G. Dalyell in *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1834), p. 93.

[22] *Register of the Privy Council, cit. supra,* IX. 301; for Kirkmichael parish *c.* 1795.

[23] The full title is *The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used;* see S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution,* p. 31, note; L. A. Govett, *The King's Book of Sports: a History of the Declarations of King James I. and King Charles I. as to the Use of Lawful Sports on Sundays.*

[24] J. Tait, The Declaration of Sports for Lancashire, 1617, *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* XXXII. 561 ff.

[25] Gardiner, *op. cit.,* publishes this particular version.

In the Abernethy parish records of March 29, 1620, it is reported that "comperit Johnne Dron and —— Dron in the parochin of Exmagird [Church of St. Adrian], accusit they on the Lord's Day play at the *footbal*l", and promise never to do it again.[26] In the Court Book of Banff under October 6, 1629, we read of two footballs having been paid yearly in settlement of rent; a little over fifty years later (May 1, 1682), in the same town, players of football in the streets were fined 40*s*.[27] Whereas football meetings on the Sabbath or games which led in one way or another to rioting were obviously frowned upon, we have already seen in the Burgh Records of Glasgow that under certain circumstances the game was viewed favorably and even encouraged. In his panegyric (1633) on Charles I., William Lithgow praises football as a manly sport and healthful exercise:

> For Manly exercise, is shreudly gone,
> *Foot-ball* and Wrestling, throwing of the Stone:
> Jumping and breathing, practises of strength,
> Which taught them to endure, hard things at length.[28]

On December 5, 1638, at the Glasgow Assembly for the deposition of the bishops, Robert Hamilton of Glasford "was found to be according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the *foot-ball* on that day".[29] Sabbath footballing continues with a record of the Presbytery of Garioch from the year 1648 when "diverse of the parishioners of Raine and Culsalmond" are guilty of "scandalous behaviour in convening themselves upon the Lord's day to a public *footballing*".[30] Finally, on September 17, 1656, an act of Parliament was passed for the better observation of the Lord's Day, according to which boisterous games were prohibited.[31]

During the eighteenth century, football maintained itself as a popular rural sport, and it is from this time that a few relatively complete and often picturesque accounts have come down to us. Among the various anecdotes told of the Reverend Michael Potter, ordained to the

[26] D. Butler, *The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy*, pp. 357–358.

[27] William Cramond, *The Annals of Banff* (New Spalding Club, publ. 8, Aberdeen, 1891), I. 63, 161.

[28] *Scotland's Welcome to Her Native Sonne, . . . King Charles* (Edinburgh, John Wreittoun [1633]), sig. D iv; reprinted by J. M., ed., *The Poetical Remains of William Lithgow . . . now first collected* (Edinburgh, 1863).

[29] Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (Edinburgh, 1775), I. 126.

[30] John Davidson, *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch*, p. 302.

[31] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland and the Government during the Commonwealth* (1873), vol. VI., pt. 2, pp. 865b, 867a.

parish of the village or 'kingdom' of Kippen in 1700, the following is especially to the point:

> It had been the practice with some of the parishioners for years to play *football* on Sunday afternoons. . . . Mr. Potter disapproved of this, and he therefore one Sunday afternoon embraced the opportunity of going down when the people were engaged in the sport, and begged to be permitted to take part in the game. The players were somewhat astonished, but made no reply, neither complied nor refused. Mr. Potter said it was proper that all their employments should begin with prayer, and he thereupon pulled off his hat and began to pray. By the time he had concluded, the most of the players had skulked away, and the practice was in future discontinued.[32]

In 1704 the town council of Jedburgh (Roxburghshire) "considering that the continuance of the annual game of football at Fastern's E'en tended to the great prejudice of the old inhabitants" and that "sometimes both old and young near lost their lives thereby" unanimously "discharge the game now and all time coming, as also the ringing of the watch-bell at that time. . .". The trades also lent their aid to suppress the game, for on February 6, 1706, all the "breithrene" of the Fleshers' Corporation found "guiltie at the rastling at the football" are fined. Ultimately, at an unknown date, hand ball was substituted as less dangerous. Jedburgh handball was played much in the style of football, with water-play, and so forth.[33]

In 1708 football and golf are mentioned as sports to which the common people of Scotland were much addicted.[34] To the Reverend John Skinner, born on October 3, 1721, seems to belong the honor of first writing a football poem.[35] This lively piece, The Monymusk Christmas Ba'ing,[36] written in dialect, was composed in the author's seventeenth year, and is in a sense a predecessor of the football poems of Scott and Hogg. The observations of Skinner's anonymous editor may be quoted in part since they are based on the one hand on the contents of the poem itself, on the other, on local tradition:

> It may be proper, at the same time, to state, that at that period, and from time immemorial, it had been the practice in most of the country parishes in

[32] William Chrystal, *The Kingdom of Kippen, its History and Traditions*, pp. 121, 123.

[33] George Watson, Annual Border Ball-Games, Hawick Archaeological Society, *Transactions*, session 1922, pp. 5–7. On the substitution of handball for football in certain Roxburghshire communities, see George Tancred, *Rulewater and its People*, pp. 351–355.

[34] John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia: or, the Present State of Great Britain* (22nd ed. for England, 1st for Scotland, London, 1708), p. 524.

[35] *Amusements of Leisure Hours: or Poetical Pieces chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh, 1809), p. 14. Some of the material which appears in the anonymous biographical essay is utilized by C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, II. 303–304, 352.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.; *cf.* pp. 13 ff.

Aberdeenshire, for parties of young men to assemble, about the Christmas season, to try their strength and agility at the athletic exercise of *foot-ball*. The contest generally took place in the kirk-yard of the parish. It was while our Author resided at Monymusk, and in consequence of having witnessed one of these scenes, that the humorous and descriptive poem alluded to made its appearance. It seems to have been designed as a humble imitation of the old poem, ascribed to James the First of Scotland, called *"Christ-kirk o' the green"*,[37] of which our Author was so fond, that before he was twelve years of age, he had it all by heart, and afterwards gave an elegant translation of it into Latin verse, which has been much admired by some of the ablest judges of such compositions.[38]

A typical stanza is the eighth:

> The hurry-burry now began,
> Was right weel worth the seeing,
> Wi' routs and raps frae man to man,
> Some getting, and some gieing;
> And a' the tricks of fit and hand,
> That ever was in being;
> Sometimes the ba' a yirdlins ran,
> Sometimes in air was fleeing,
> Fu' heigh that day.

One of the most circumstantial accounts of tumults arising out of football play—here Fastern's-e'en football—occurs in a complaint lodged in 1724 by John Gray, bailie of the burgh and barony of Duns, against William Home, shoemaker and others. It should be quoted *in extenso:*

> Mr. John Gray having laid down proper expedients to prevent riots and tumults within the burgh of barronie of Dunse, and particularly on the anniversary of Fasting's Even, when all the idel people in that burgh were usually conveened by touck of drum to play at the football, which did always end and determine in the effusion of blood among the inhabitants, and did in following out that just purpose order the drummer to bring the drum of that town to his house on the 18th of February last, being Fasting's Even, and yet notwithstanding of the said precaution, the persons above complained upon and manie others did gather themselves together upon pretence of playing at the football on the said day above mentioned, and came up to the said Mr. John Gray, complainer, his house and insolently demanded of him that he should deliver up the drum to them, threatening and swearing revenge and mischief against him in case of his non-compliance; and the said Mr. John Gray having in the maintenance of his authoritie not only refused to deliver up the drum, but likeways commanded the said persons to retire to their respective homes in a peaceable manner, they still persisted in their outrage, and went away together in a body to a place called the Cloack miln, where they played at the football. And when the game

[37] On the authorship of *Christis Kirk o' the Green*, see Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (3d ed., 1910), pp. 106 ff., for conflicting views.

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

was over, they did return to the Tolbooth stair, and that the winners were then to shew the ball and proclaim the victory, certain particular persons, loosers in the game, opposed them therein and would not suffer the wonners to gett up to the Tolbooth stair to shew the ball unless they brought the drum alongst with them. Whereupon they fell a fighting and beating and blooding of one another, but att length went into one common concert to goe in a body and seize by force the drum in the said Mr. John Gray, his house.[39]

Rioting ensued on that day and the next, and a jury trial was finally demanded.

In the Border town of Hawick (Roxburghshire) a species of handball was at least until very recently, if not still currently, the Fasternse'en game,[40] but that this has not always been the case and that football between the residents of the east and west parts of the town was still played about 1760 appears from the following account published in 1825:

About fifty six years ago, a *foot-ball* was played annually on Fastern's-eve within the town, the inhabitants who lived on the *West Side* of the water of Slitrig being matched against those who resided on the *East Side* of it. This amusement had a bad tendency in keeping up, and promoting, a species of war or fighting that had been carried on, time out of mind, between the people (principally boys) of the East and West divisions of the town. This feud, in which the boys below sixteen years of age were the chief combatants, was fostered by their seniors; and even parents and masters have been known to encourage their apprentices and children to join in the scene of contention.[41]

In connection with this, Watson prints a traditional rhyme in which one side taunts the other:

Wassla waiter wuns the day;
Eassla waiter canna play,
For eatin' sodden dumplin's.

Reporting for the [*Old*] *Statistical Account of Scotland* on the parish of Kirkmichael—a parish, it will be recalled, which figured in our annals in 1611—the Reverend Allan Steward wrote sometime prior to 1795 that "*Foot ball* is a common amusement with the schoolboys, who also preserve the custom of cock-fighting on Shrove Tuesday".[42] From about the same time there comes from Inveresk, Mid-Lothian, a curious and highly entertaining account of Fastern's-e'en football as played by the local fishwives. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, of the parish, reports:

[39] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of MSS. in Various Collections*, V. 43–44.

[40] George Watson, Annual Border Ball-Games, p. 7.

[41] Robert Wilson, *A Sketch of the History of Hawick* (Hawick, 1825), pp. 161–162.

[42] Sir John Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland* XV. (Edinburgh, 1795) 521.

From the kind of life these women lead, it may naturally be concluded, that their manners are peculiar, as they certainly are. . . . As they do the work of men, their manners are masculine . . . . On holidays they frequently play at *golf;* and on Shrove Tuesday there is a standing match at *foot-ball,* between the married and unmarried women, in which the former are always victors.[43]

The fullest and most famous account of a Scottish Shrovetide ball-game is a late eighteenth century report from Scone by the Reverend Robert Thomas. This game, while not strictly speaking football, since the ball might not be kicked, is nevertheless closely related to the Shrovetide football games already cited and may properly be included here:

Every year on Shrove-Tuesday, the batchelors and married men drew themselves up at the cross of Scone on opposite sides. A ball was then thrown up, and they played from 2 o'clock till sun set. The game was this. He who, at any time got the ball into his hands, run with it till overtaken by one of the opposite party, and then, if he could shake himself loose from those on the opposite side, who seized him, he run on: if not, he threw the ball from him, unless it was wrested from him by the other party; *but no person was allowed to kick it.*[44] The object of the married men was to hang it, i. e. to put it three times into a small hole in the moor, the *dool* or limit on the one hand; that of the batchelors was to drown it, i. e. to dip it three times into a deep place in the river, the limit on the other. The party who could effect either of these objects, won the game. But, if neither party won, the ball was cut into two equal parts at sun-set. In the course of the play one might always see some scene of violence between the parties; but, as the proverb of this part of the country expresses it, *all was fair at the ball of Scone.*

This custom is supposed to have had its origin in the days of chivalry. An Italian, it is said, came into this part of the country, challenging all the parishes, under a certain penalty in case of declining his challenge. All the parishes declined the challenge excepting Scone, which beat the foreigner; and in commemoration of this gallant action the game was instituted.

Whilst the custom continued, every man in the parish, the gentry not excepted, was obliged to turn out and support the side to which he belonged; and the person who neglected to do his part on that occasion was fined; but the custom being attended with certain inconveniences, was abolished a few years ago.[45]

The popularity of football at this time as in the past did not escape

[43] *Statistical Account of Scotland,* XVI. 18–19. For violent contests between women in 1661, carried out under highly peculiar conditions, see Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland,* II. 273.

[44] The italics are the author's.

[45] *Statistical Account of Scotland,* XVIII. 88–89. C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland,* II. 304, is misleading in referring to this as football. In his *Early Races of Scotland,* I. 125, Forbes Leslie discusses the Scone game in particular and more briefly, Fastern's-e'en games in general, regarding these as Christianized heathen Celtic festivals.

the notice of Scott, who describes it as still being in his day a "favorite Border sport".[46] In the *Lay* (completed in 1805) football is one of sports played during a Border truce:

> Some drove the jolly bowl about;
> With dice and draughts some chased the day;
> And some, with many a merry shout,
> In riot, revelry, and rout,
> Pursued the foot-ball play.
> (V, vi, 19–23.)

Perhaps the most famous of all matches was that of Carterhaugh, played on December 4, 1815, near the confluence of the Ettrick and the Yarrow. Some two thousand spectators were reported present, including many of the titled and landed gentry. The opponents were from the Vale of Yarrow with representatives of the "Soutors" of Selkirk, and a well contested game ended in a victory for the latter. The ancient banner of Buccleuch was displayed while the then duke started proceedings by throwing up the ball between the two parties.[47] "That this singular revival of an ancient military custom might not want poetical celebrity, verses, composed specially for the occasion by Scott and Hogg, were distributed among the spectators. Scott's lines are entitled 'The Banner of the House of Buccleuch', and have as a chorus:—

> 'Then up with the banner, let Forest winds fan her,
> She has blazed over Ettrick eight ages and more;
> In sport we'll attend her, in battle defend her,
> With our hearts and our hands, like our fathers before.'

'The Ettrick Garland, to the Ancient Banner of the House of Buccleuch', by the Shepherd, thus opens:—

> 'And hast thou here like hermit grey,
> Thy mystic charms unrolled,
> O'er peaceful revellers to play,
> Thou emblem of the days of old?
> All hail! memorial of the brave,
> The liegeman's pride, the Border's awe!
> May thy grey pennon never wave
> On sterner field than Carterhaugh!' "[48]

Scott's poem in particular breathes a great spirit of enthusiasm both for

[46] Sir Walter Scott, *Poetical Works* (Edinburgh, 1830), vol. I., Intro., p. lxxxix.

[47] See G. Watson, Roxburghshire Annual Ball-Games, *Border Almanac*, 1910 (enlarged issue, Kelso, 1910), p. 90; also J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, III. 44–47.

[48] From the fine account by James Russell, *Reminiscences of Yarrow*, pp. 279–280. See also for a different, perhaps a later revised text, of Hogg's poem, D. O. Hill, ed., *Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*, IV. 345–346.

football and the house of Buccleuch, and it is, consequently, not surprising that Lockhart could write thus of his father-in-law: "The author of 'the Lay' would rather have seen his heir carry the Banner of Bellenden gallantly at a football match on Carterhaugh, than he would have heard that the boy had attained the highest honours of the first university of Europe."[49] In the sentiments thus ascribed to him, Scott is a forerunner of countless parents whose sons are to-day at the public schools and universities.[50]

[49] *Memoirs, cit. supra,* V. 435.

[50] For a few references to late survivals of popular football in Scotland, see A. Alison, *Principles of the Criminal Law of Scotland,* I. 511, and William Roughead, *Glengarry's Way and other Studies,* pp. 190, 191; William and Robert Chambers, eds., *Chamber's Information for the People,* II. 544; *New Statistical Account of Scotland,* X. 268–269; Robert Chambers, *Book of Days,* I. 214; P. H. Ditchfield, *Old English Customs extant at the Present Time,* pp. 65–66; and G. Watson, *Border Magazine,* XXV. 27–28.

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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY FOR VIRGINIA

THE study of Virginia as the "First Republic in America" rather than as the earliest of English experiments in colonization, and the dependence upon partisan and often inaccurate records by scholars who searched for the "Genesis of the United States" in the light of their enthusiasm for a fully developed American democracy, have been largely responsible for the belief that the well-known factions in the Virginia Company represented the embryonic parties of England's Civil War. Consequently, the events which led to the interference of the government and the subsequent dissolution of the company in 1624—one of the most complex problems in colonial history—have been rather simply explained as a struggle "between the Patriot party, which determined to plant a popular course of government in the New World, and the Court party, which opposed that purpose".[1]

The "Patriot" party was found in the supporters of Sir Edwin Sandys, among whom the Earl of Southampton and the two Ferrar brothers were the most prominent. The establishment of the Virginia assembly in 1619 has been taken as evidence of their determination to carry through an experiment in democracy, and it has been assumed that James objected to the form of government in Virginia. His opposition to the Sandys party has also been explained by his supposed declaration that the company was "a seminary for a seditious Parliament", a quotation which despite its frequent appearance in American histories is supported by records of the most doubtful historical value.[2] The king, however, was not without friends among the adventurers, for Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Alderman Johnson were the leaders of a group which by its opposition to Sandys has become famous as the "Court" party. A temporary reversal following the Indian massacre of 1622 was thought to have given

[1] Alexander Brown, *English Politics in Early Virginia History*, p. 5.

[2] Arthur Woodnoth, *A Short Collection of the Most Remarkable Passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (London, 1651), p. 4. Woodnoth, a relative of the Ferrars, wrote about 1644, entirely from memory. John Ferrar, writing a few years later, attributed the statement to the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, who was believed to have used every influence to procure the overthrow of the company. The story came to Ferrar in a very roundabout fashion. He had it from Southampton, who had been told by two lords at court that they had overheard Gondomar. Peter Peckard, *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar*, pp. 115–116.

James opportunity for a conspiracy with Smith and Warwick to defeat Sandy's "patriotic" plans through the dissolution of the company. The success of this effort made Sandys one of America's earliest heroes, and his tomb in Kent was marked by Virginia's most enthusiastic historian as a shrine to American democracy.[3]

This is in many ways a plausible explanation, and it was long accepted by the historians of both countries. For some time, however, it has been discredited by scholars better acquainted with men and events in Stuart England, notably Professors W. R. Scott and A. P. Newton.[4] They have seen that political differences cut across both factions, and a fuller appreciation of the commercial character of the organization has led to the suggestion that the troubles which divided the company were fundamentally economic. The story has not yet been rewritten on the basis of adequate research, nor can an exhaustive study be presented in a paper of this length. A brief examination, however, of the investigation instituted in 1623 by order of the privy council is sufficient to establish the truth of an economic rather than a political interpretation.

The explanation of this action by the lords of the council is to be found in the economic decay of both company and colony attendant upon violent disputes among the adventurers which had their origins in the failures of the business during Smith's governorship. The disappointments of his administration were responsible for an attempt by Sandys to make a special audit of Smith's accounts. Quarrels between the officers and auditors extending through 1617 and 1618 spread into the company, and the final result was an effort by Sandys to displace the governor. In alliance with the Earl of Warwick and by arguing that a change in administration might bring a change in fortune he was successful in 1619.[5]

The new governor then undertook to lead the company in a very ambitious program calling for the restoration of the company's land which had decayed with the development of private estates, for the production of many new commodities in order that the colony might not be so dependent upon tobacco, and most important of all for a rapid increase in population.[6] The success of such a program required

[3] Brown, pp. 253–254.

[4] W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, II. 266–289; A. P. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 20–25.

[5] J. H. Lefroy, ed., *The Historye of the Bermudaes* [Hakluyt Society], pp. 128–131; Alexander Brown, *First Republic in America*, p. 279; Woodnoth, pp. 5–6; Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, I. 212.

[6] *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 266–267, 350–351.

the support of a united and vigorous company. Instead, the governor had only the help of a faction in an organization torn by feud and strife, and weakened by years of disappointment. Extended and badly managed disputes regarding Smith's accounts widened the breach between the old and new officers. A bitter controversy with Warwick over piracy alienated other powerful men. The most substantial groups in the company were thus in opposition to Sandys, and he was forced to rely upon a party composed chiefly of minor adventurers. By manipulation of the voting he was able to maintain his control, but even in doing so his difficulties were multiplied, for the grievances nursed by his powerful opponents assumed greater weight when it was felt that the opportunity to inflict these injuries came by unfair means. Not only did they practically withdraw from the business except as their own interests were involved, but their resentment was such that some of their actions gave Sandys a very real sense of personal injury. Thus a restoration of unity within the company became practically impossible.

Under these circumstances Sandys was forced to rely upon means of support which supplied neither a regular nor an adequate income. Lotteries were the source of income for almost half his annual budgets before 1621.[7] Their suspension in that year upon complaint of Parliament left little more than the efforts of individual adventurers who hoped to realize a profit by supplying the colonists with certain necessities. Repeated failure in these enterprises made it increasingly difficult to supply the needs of the colony. In 1621 the company wrote that the last year's 'magazine' had returned with a loss of the principal itself. The 'magazine' of that year had been provided with great difficulty, and with it went the warning that "if this succeed like the former, it is vain ever to hope for like supplies from hence". When in 1622 news of the massacre reached the company it was forced to reply: "The fear of your want of corn doth much perplex us, seeing so little possibility to supply you; the public stock being utterly . . . exhausted, and last year's Adventures made by Private men not returned . . . we have no hope of raising any valuable Magazine."[8]

These financial embarrassments were made more serious by the fact that Sandys in his enthusiasm had overdone his policy of colonization, and sent hundreds of colonists without proper provision for their shelter, health, or food. His whole program was founded on the supposition that the colony would be self-supporting, and he seemed

[7] *Ibid.*, I. 351–352, 396–397, 411–412, 492–493.

[8] Manuscript Records of the Virginia Company, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 19–20, 23a–25.

incapable of realizing by his early failures the error in this belief. Governor Yeardley wrote in 1620: "I pray think it not strange I should write thus to send victuals with your people for you may be pleased well to conceive that if such numbers of people come upon me unexpected, and that at an unhealthfull season and too late to set Corn I cannot then be able to feed them out of others' labors, what I can and am able to do if you will have patience I will from time to time inform you . . . but both you and I must give leave to time."[9] There were many other letters in the same tenor as that of Captain Nuce, who wrote in 1621: "How so many people sent hither in late years have been lost, I cannot conceive unless it be through water and want, partly of good food, but chiefly of good lodging . . . your provisions fall exceeding short, which is not my Complaint alone."[10] Yet in the summer following the massacre and after Governor Wyatt had warned the company that Virginia faced a winter of starvation unless food could be quickly secured, the company in the same letter in which it deplored its inability to help, spoke encouragingly of the fact that "there come now over in this ship, and are immediately to follow in some others many hundreds of people" sent in the belief that " in the multitude of people is the strength of a Kingdom".[11]

Faced thus with ruin in the colony and bankruptcy at home the officers of the company turned in desperation to the hope of an income from tobacco. The chief problem had been for some time to make a satisfactory arrangement with the government for its importation into England. At the suggestion of the lord treasurer the Virginia and Bermuda companies undertook the sole importation of tobacco, and during the summer and fall of 1622 the terms of a contract for that purpose were negotiated. In these negotiations Sandys was at a disadvantage because of the importance of the contract to the company, the government's dislike of tobacco, and its desire for revenue from that source. The result was that Sandys agreed to terms which he heartily disliked and which the Warwick party absolutely refused to accept. The officers then blundered in trying to force through the companies with the contract a very high salary appropriation for those who were to manage the business. This brought such a storm of protest that all parties returned to the courts and proceeded to spend the winter in opening old wounds and inflicting new ones in a fight so bitter that the country was treated to conclusive proof that the Virginia

[9] Yeardley to Sandys, June 7, 1620, Ferrar Papers.

[10] Nuce to Sandys, May 27, 1621, Ferrar Papers.

[11] Manuscript Records of the Virginia Company, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 232–25.

Company was hopelessly divided. While the adventurers fought among themselves and neglected all other business, Virginia passed through its most disastrous winter. Just as the tobacco fight reached its height, news came from the colony of appalling sickness, famine, and death. Among the most painful letters bringing this news were those of Sandys's own brother, George, who asked that some person of "judgment and integrity" be sent to inquire into the state of Virginia where there was "extreme sickness and unheard of mortality". Deaths had mounted to five hundred and there were scarcely as many left, so that the living could hardly bury the dead.[12]

It was under these circumstances that early in April, 1623, Alderman Johnson presented his famous petition to the privy council praying for the appointment of a commission to determine the true condition of the colony when Smith left the government "and what after the expence of so much money is the true estate and condition of those plantations at this present". He desired also a consideration of "how the business of those plantations may be better managed so that all contentions and differences being reconciled, the authors thereof being punished, unity and peace resettled, and the form of governing and directing those affairs being better established, that work may prosper with a blessing from heaven".[13]

The leaders of the two factions were called before the privy council on April 17, and after many bitter exchanges it was decided to appoint a commission consisting of Sir William Jones and six others "to examine the carriage of the whole business". The commission as finally issued under date of May 9 authorized a thorough examination of witnesses and all records in order that there might be discovered any damage to the plantation from frauds or infringements of the charters, what monies had been raised, how levied, and how they had been spent—all with the purpose of determining the true state of the colonies under both Smith and Sandys.[14]

Johnson's petition and the instructions to the commissioners point clearly to the settlement of questions of an economic character. Even stronger proof of this may be found in the evidence brought by both parties before the commissioners in behalf of their respective cases. The indictment of Sandys's administration was prepared by Nathaniel Rich, and a full record of his attack has been preserved in the Man-

[12] George Sandys to Samuel Wrote, March 28, 1623, Manchester Papers, 319.

[13] *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 373–374 (spelling modernized); Manchester Papers, 328.

[14] P. R. O., S. P., 15/43, 10; Official Papers Pitt Family, Add. MSS. 29975, f. 63.

chester Papers. In this collection are found many serious charges. Reckless and ill-advised expenditure had brought a considerable indebtedness upon the company with no means for its liquidation. Sandys's "wild projects" for the development of new commodities had resulted in heavy losses. Typical of his efforts in this field was the administration of the iron works, which, despite an expenditure of £5000, were declared to have exported nothing more than "a fire-shovel and tongs and a little bar of iron". The slander and injury of the "old adventurers" and the unfair means by which Sandys maintained his control had caused nearly all of the adventurers best acquainted with the plantations to "desert the business". The resulting factions had crippled the company, which under its present organization and leadership was incapable of directing the important affairs of Virginia, as was evidenced by the "most desperate estate" to which the colony had been reduced.[15]

The Warwick party endeavored to prove that under Smith the condition of the colony had been hopeful, but that because of the errors and abuses of the preceding four years the plantations had come to the most miserable state of their history. Rich centered his attack on Sandys's practice of sending large numbers of colonists without proper provision for their reception and care. They had been carried in crowded ships, often with inadequate supplies, so that many died on the way, and those who arrived brought sickness and death. Failure to supply adequate housing, and the inability or neglect to provide sufficient food and clothing had resulted in the death of hundreds of colonists from illness, famine, and exposure. The commissioners were urged to inquire "upon what good and warrantable grounds the Company adventured to send such multitudes of people these four last years, whether the sending of so many people hath not undiscreetly wasted the whole public stock, and been a means to cast away the lives of many of his majesty's Subjects". Rich estimated the number of deaths before 1622 at 3000, declaring that ships had been overcrowded with "a multitude of passengers and store of goods *for private gain* . . . by which means and the short allowance of food to the passengers, they landed half starved, and brought with them their own deaths and infection of others in the Country, so that in three years there died near upon 3000 persons, for which mortality no other cause can truly be shown but the want of houses, pestering of ships, shortness and badness of food." Sandys's ability to attract so many

[15] Manchester Papers, 329, 330, 331, 343, 346, 347, 362.

colonists despite the poor condition of the plantations was attributed to a deliberate falsifying of reports from the colony.[16]

Such was the character of the testimony presented by the Warwick party in support of its request for some reorganization of the Virginia Company. It was in its entirety an indictment of Sandys's management of the economic interests of the company and colony. It is safe to conclude that had there been a political quarrel underlying this dispute, Sandys's enemies would not have hesitated to attack him on this ground, and would at least have incorporated some of their objections to his political opinions in their private papers. It is important, therefore, to note the absence of any record of such an attack in the Manchester Papers.

It is true that there were objections to the "government of Virginia" and a demand for its reform. But these have been entirely misinterpreted, as may be seen by the answer to such attacks. Lord Cavendish prepared the company's defense on the charge that the "Government as it now stands is Democraticall and Tumultuous and therefore fit to be altered and reduced to the hands of some few persons". It was true, Cavendish admitted, that there was some show of democracy, but this was only just "because these Plantations, though furthered much by your Majesty's grace, yet being not made at your Majesty's charge or expence but chiefly by the private purses of the Adventurers they would never have ventured in such an accord wherein they interest their own fortunes, if in the regulating and governing of their own business their own votes had been excluded". It was the most profitable form of government, he continued, because the great supplies necessary for the colonists could be provided only by a large number of people, who would not venture thus if the control were in the hands of a few. There was no way of determining "the judgment of a Company", he concluded, except "by plurality of voice".[17]

Obviously this argument concerned nothing further than the organization and rules of government in the company. It was merely the objection to a form of government which enabled the minor adventurers, by combining and taking advantage of the rule whereby several shares had no more voice than one, to control the company and interests of men with greater holdings. Many historians have failed to understand the use of the word "democracy" in this connection. An examination of Captain John Bargrave's objections to the "government of Virginia", which have been given undue importance, will

[16] *Ibid.*, 298, 330, 331, 343, 344, 347, 362.

[17] *Ibid.*, 360; *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 352–362.

show that he too directed his attacks at the government of the company.[18] The popular government to which he referred was that of a joint stock company in which part of the stockholders by combining in a party could gain control to the injury of other members. To Americans looking backward over three centuries the "government of Virginia" has quite naturally meant the governor, council, and assembly at Jamestown, but when Englishmen of James I.'s reign used that phrase they thought of a corporate body in London in which resided the real power of governing the affairs of the colony. Far too much of a political character has been read into the history of the Virginia dispute by students who have not carefully studied its records and who have ignored the fact that not only did the form of government in the colony remain unchanged after the dissolution of the company but that it became a model for other colonies established under royal patronage.

The defense of the Sandys party was as completely economic in character as had been their indictment. They endeavored to prove that the colony under Smith was in a miserable state, that since 1619 it had been greatly improved, and that its condition then was more than hopeful. A well ordered government of the company had attracted many new adventurers, and had been reflected in the prosperity and happiness of Virginia. The content of the colonists had "raised . . . at home so great a fame of Virginia" that many people had gone to the plantations and many gentlemen had undertaken the development of private plantations.[19] This ability of the company to attract large numbers of colonists was presented as the chief argument in its case.

Sandys's defense, however, was weak in several essential points. A defunct treasury could not be talked away, and this subject was carefully avoided. None of the efforts at developing commodities other than tobacco had been successful. This was an especially important point in measuring the success of Sandys's administration in 1623 because of the great emphasis which he had laid upon this policy and the general disapproval of tobacco. The company could do nothing, however, but review its efforts, take refuge in the massacre as an excuse for having nothing to show for much work and expense, and express a hope for the future.[20] On only one point in the policies which Sandys so hopefully outlined in 1619 had he been successful, and that was in attracting large numbers of English emigrants to Vir-

[18] P. R. O., C. O. 1/2, 4, 4 I. 7 I.

[19] *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 348–349, 350, 393.

[20] *Ibid.*, II. 348–350.

ginia. But even here he had blundered miserably, and his affirmations of prosperity and happiness found by them in a new home were completely refuted by the fact that most of them had found only suffering and death.

The accusations of the Warwick party were undoubtedly filled with many exaggerations, but there was no exaggeration in their charge of an appalling death rate among the Virginia colonists. The company's own statements prove the truth of this indictment. Sandys's supporters estimated that a total of 6000 persons had been sent to the colony since the organization of the company, and that of this number not above 2500 had gone under Smith. According to these figures, 3500 represented the number since 1619. The population of the colony when Sandys assumed control was frequently given by him as 1000, and thus the total for the four years preceding 1623 was approximately 4500. Yet in the spring of that year the officers for the company admitted that there were not above 2500 of these left alive,[21] which means that according to the company's own figures almost half of those who had set forth for Virginia or had been living there since Smith's governorship had perished either on the way or after arrival. A death rate of approximately forty-five per cent. was alone sufficient warrant for the charges of the Warwick party and the investigation by the government.

But there was even more justification for condemning Sandys than was admitted by the company, for the figures did not reveal the whole story. A much larger number of deaths was revealed in a communication from Christopher Davison, a member of the council in Virginia, who wrote to Nicholas Ferrar in February, 1624. This letter supplied a detailed census of each plantation at the beginning of that year, which showed a total population for the colony of only 1275, or about half that claimed by the company nine months earlier. When it is considered that 340 of this number had migrated to Virginia so recently as the summer and autumn of 1623, it will be seen that seventy-five per cent. is a more accurate index to the mortality during his direction of the company.[22] This unusually high death rate cut the ground from under the whole case for the company, and gave its opponents

[21] *Ibid.*, II. 398–399.

[22] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574–1660, p. 57.—Some allowance perhaps should be made for colonists who returned to England, although it is doubtful if there were many who did so. The death rate was highest among new arrivals and those who survived were rarely able to meet the cost of a return voyage. Even had the number been large, their return could hardly be considered as strengthening Sandys's case.

their strongest point. It alone was sufficient to establish the basic truth in their charges of mismanagement, negligence, pestilence, and starvation. It was difficult to prove in the face of these facts that the colonists lived a happy and prosperous life.

How far the difficulties of the Sandys party were due to the disasters of the massacre is a debatable question. The company frequently took refuge in that catastrophe, and there can be no doubt that some of the colony's misfortunes could be traced to the destruction and disorganization following in its wake. Failure so complete as that in Virginia, however, can not be explained by any one cause. The massacre can account directly for no more than four hundred deaths. The usual number given for those slain is three hundred and forty-seven. And even if the suffering and deaths of the following winter may be attributed chiefly to the disorganization resulting from this attack, that itself is evidence of weakness and mistaken policies in the earlier conduct of the business. Had sufficient provision been made for defense, had the economic organization been more sound, and the company in a position to send prompt and adequate relief, the colony would have been better able to withstand this shock. Moreover, there is evidence of much suffering in Virginia before 1622. Sandys had overdone his whole policy of colonization, and the massacre is more correctly regarded as revealing the extent of Sandys's failure, than as being the chief cause of that failure.

Regardless of other opinions that may be formed by the careful student of this evidence presented to the king and his commission, there can be no doubt that above all else the opposing factions were fighting over the economic policies of the Sandys régime and their effect upon the colony. It is true that their arguments were colored by hatreds acquired in disputes only indirectly connected with the company's policies, but these did not alter the central theme of their contentions.

It would perhaps be a mistake to disregard altogether the possible effect of Sandys's disfavor at court because of his leadership in the Commons. The government may have been more critical of his administration, more willing to find fault, and James may have found some pleasure in uncovering the failure of his political foe. There can be no doubt that Smith and his associates had the royal ear, and thereby secured an advantage which was denied to Sandys. Yet a survey of the relations between the company and the privy council during the tobacco negotiations and the subsequent investigation of the company's affairs leaves an impression of fairness and lack of pre-

judice. And those who attach chief significance in the five years of Sandys's leadership to a political controversy not only advance an interpretation depending largely upon suppositions for which there is little warrant, but ignore the fact that in the economic condition of both company and colony there was ample justification for the procedure of the government from the investigation of 1623 to the dissolution of the company in 1624.

The story is essentially one of commercial disappointment and the attempt to locate, or perhaps shift, the burden of responsibility. The difficulties of years of unsuccessful colonization had divided the company into two factions and led them into a quarrel so bitter that it produced, or probably merely revealed, an incapacity for successful management in either party, thus making a receivership inevitable. According to the constitution of the time such a receivership had to be administered by the crown. This was a general political fact, and one that extended to cover the troubles of Virginia, but it should not be regarded as arising from the victory of a "Court" party over a "popular" party within the company.

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A VIEW OF CORNWALLIS'S SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

On April 8, 1781, George Washington wrote one of his usual discouraging letters to the President of Congress, detailing the almost hopeless difficulties under which he was obliged to act:

> The bare relation of these facts, without combining other circumstances of equal magnitude and uncertainty, or adding to them the difficulties with which we are surrounded for want of money, will convince Congress of the impracticability of my fixing at this time on any definitive plan of campaign, and of my inability to carry into effect those, which have heretofore been the objects of contemplation.[1]

Five years of campaigning had brought the main British and American armies back to about where they had been in 1776—the former at New York City, and the latter just above New York on the Hudson. If the balance inclined either way, it appeared that the British had an advantage, inasmuch as in 1781 another British army under Lord Cornwallis was ravaging the Carolinas and Virginia, and meeting with what appeared to be very little effective opposition. In the spring of 1781, as in the spring of 1918, few could foresee an end. Yet seven months later, the war of the American Revolution was practically over, and the independence of these United States assured.

There is no need to recount the details of the Franco-American military strategy which marched two armies completely around Sir Henry Clinton's British forces at New York, and closed in on the land side of Cornwallis at Yorktown just after the French Admiral Grasse had effectively sealed the ocean approaches to Cornwallis's position. But why did Sir Henry Clinton and the British Admiral Thomas Graves, at New York, permit Washington to march around them, and why, when they knew of the maneuver, did they delay seven weeks in going to the rescue of Cornwallis, when they might have reached the Chesapeake in a week? Probably no one can answer that question but Sir Henry Clinton himself, and there is good reason to agree with Sir Henry that his accounts have been either suppressed or ignored in order to exonerate Lord Cornwallis and the colonial secretary, Lord George Germain.[2]

[1] In the interest of brevity, obvious citations will be omitted—as in this case, to Ford's *Writings* of Washington.

[2] Although Germain gave due publicity to his, and to Cornwallis's dispatches, there is no denying the fact that many of Clinton's were certainly not published at the time, nor have been since. There is no occasion to elaborate the matter of Germain's disloyalty to Clinton, as it has been pointed out by two British historians, G. Guttridge, Lord George Germain in Office, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 33–34; and Sir John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, III. 377.

In view of the pamphlet battle and parliamentary inquiries which followed the loss of Cornwallis's army, it is difficult to believe that anything very important has escaped the printing press. Yet a chronological list of the documents taken from sources now available indicates that each of the printed works tells only part of the story, and what is more serious, only part of its own story. Besides correspondence of the generals, Clinton and Cornwallis, and of the admirals, Graves, Hood, and Rodney, there are the papers of the secretary, Lord George Germain, and there is the mass of military intelligence sent in to Clinton during the summer of 1781. Not all of this material has been available in one place at one time, or even in different places at the same time. Probably all has not yet come to light, so we must content ourselves, upon this one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the surrender, by adding some newly recovered data on the activities at the British headquarters in Beekman House, New York, during the summer of 1781.[3]

The story begins at ten o'clock on the night of June 5, 1781, when a British patrol picked up an American courier outside of New York, and brought a captured pouch of mail to the British headquarters. It appears to have contained several letters from Washington to various persons and officers south of New York. There were also letters from Barras, and Rochambeau, the French naval and military commanders at Newport, to La Luzerne, the French minister at Philadelphia. The purport of these letters was to announce to the various individuals concerned that the French and American commanders had had a conference at Weathersfield, Connecticut, that they had concerted a plan of action for an attack on New York, that they had considered some

[3] The controversial pamphlets and many letters in the affair are conveniently gathered in B. F. Stevens, *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781 . . . the Clinton Cornwallis Controversy,* hereinafter cited as "CCC". Since the pamphlets may be found listed there by title, there is no need to repeat that information. But in view of the return to America of the Clinton Papers, Stevens's work can now be regarded only as fragmentary. William Graves, *Two letters . . . respecting the conduct of Rear Admiral Graves in North America* (London, 1783); and *Letters from Sir George Brydges now Lord Rodney* (London, 1789), are referred to, *infra.* Care must be taken to use the extended edition of Graves, *Letters,* 1783, not that of 1782, and the published edition of the Rodney *Letters* (1789), not the privately printed edition of *c.* 1783. Besides the material published in London newspapers at the time of the controversy, Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* (London, 1782), vol. VIII. is a fairly comprehensive source on what was printed contemporaneously. The Historical Manuscripts Commission volumes, *Rept. on the MSS. of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville* (London, 1904–1910), should be used as a good index, but not as source material itself, to the Germain Papers. Shelburne MSS., Germain MSS., and Clinton MSS., hereinafter referred to, relate to collections of manuscripts at the William L. Clements Library.

operation in the southern area (against Cornwallis) but had given it up, because they had not the command of the sea. The effect of this interception of American official dispatches was to convince Sir Henry Clinton that he stood in grave danger of an attack by anywhere from 12,000 to 20,000 men. Against this he could muster 10,000, the so-called garrison of New York, which was distributed on Long Island, Staten Island, and Manhattan Island, "dispersed in an Extent of above 100 miles".[4] The British armies were badly scattered. Clinton had but a small part of the forces supposedly at his disposal. Lord Rawdon had about 7000 in South Carolina, chasing those will-o'-the-wisps, Marion, Sumter, and Greene. Cornwallis had about 8000 in Virginia. Besides these, Britain had approximately 14,000 troops in Canada and another 7000 in the West Indies, which were not under Clinton's immediate command.[5] Naval affairs looked better, as the British under Admiral Graves at New York certainly had command of the sea. The small French squadron under Barras at Newport had so far not done anything spectacular.

Upon reading the intercepted dispatches, Sir Henry Clinton wrote, on June 8, to Lord Cornwallis in Virginia,[6] apprising him of the threatened attack, suggesting that Cornwallis send 2000 troops to New York, and advising him to move the army in Virginia to Baltimore or Delaware. This move would have brought Cornwallis nearer the headquarters and would have put him in a position to attack Philadelphia. There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether this pouch of intercepted mail was sent by Washington with the deliberate intention that it should be captured. After Yorktown it was alleged in England that the letters had been deliberately "planted" for the unlucky Clinton, to keep him inside his lines at New York, while the Americans marched around him. Clinton denied this and pointed out that the mail bag also contained a letter from Washington to his dentist, asking for a pair of pliers to fix the teeth of the American commander—and, he might have added, a priceless letter from Martha Washington relating to purely domestic concerns at Mount

[4] Clinton to Cornwallis, June 11; all dates unless otherwise noted are in the year 1781. See also a memo. of Clinton in *New York City during the American Revolution*, p. 178; and CCC, I. 15. At least four such captures of American dispatches took place about this time. London *Chronicle*, July 17, 1781.

[5] Shelburne MSS., 68:99; CCC, II. 226.

[6] To obviate repetition in footnotes, all dates hereinafter given in the text, as relating to letters, should be understood as referring to such documents, from and to persons mentioned, now in the Clinton MSS. The present arrangement of the Clinton MSS. makes it possible to locate them by date.

Vernon.[7] The truth seems to be that Washington and Rochambeau really agreed to attack New York and gave up the idea of going south because of the objections of Barras. But Rochambeau was still impressed with the possibilities of a campaign in the South. Moreover, he was advised from France that a much larger fleet from the West Indies under Grasse might be available. So he reported the Weathersfield conference to Grasse in such terms as virtually to leave that admiral the alternative of bringing his West India fleet to Sandy Hook or to Chesapeake Bay. Grasse received this letter on July 16, and on July 28 wrote to Rochambeau that he elected to go to the Chesapeake, not to New York. Rochambeau received this reply on August 14, and immediately advised Washington. Therefore it is probably true that from May until the middle of August, Washington really did intend to attack New York, then suddenly changed his mind and went to Yorktown.[8] The trouble with Clinton was that he believed the intercepted dispatches two weeks longer. The important point, then, is not whether the mail was intended to be intercepted, but that Clinton believed what he read therein, and clung to his belief too long.

In the midst of his preparations for the defense of New York, Clinton received a somewhat petulant dispatch from Cornwallis, dated May 26, in which his lordship expressed himself freely as opposed to moving his army north to coöperate in an attack on Philadelphia. It is the tone, rather than the substance of this dispatch which is important. One must bear in mind the relationship between these two British commanders. In the first place, Cornwallis was a peer, while his superior, Clinton, was not. In the second place, Cornwallis, like Burgoyne, seems to have been a favorite of the minister, Germain, who preferred the news of his lordship's brilliant victories to Clinton's constant complaints and demands for more men and supplies. In the third place, Cornwallis, who had Clinton's permission to report his victories directly to Germain, had developed that permission into a policy of making his reports directly to London, over the head of his

[7] CCC, II. 26; see also similar marginalia in the correspondingly annotated volumes in the Clinton MSS. A partial list of these intercepted dispatches is enclosed in Clinton to Germain, June 9. The letters themselves are still with Clinton's MSS.

[8] *Mémoires de Rochambeau* (Paris, 1809), I. 271; O. D. Leboucher, *Histoire de la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1830), I. 279 n.; Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1886–1892), V. 475 ff.; Shelburne MSS., 35:66; Washington, *Diaries*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., II. 253. The part played by La Luzerne in influencing Grasse's decision is set forth in J. J. Jusserand, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, pp. 62 ff.

superior officer. In the fourth place, Cornwallis had a dormant commission to succeed Clinton as commander in chief in certain contingencies. In mode of thinking, it is apparent that the two British generals were not in harmony. Obviously, Clinton had to deal cautiously with his titled and favored subordinate.[9]

Still puzzled as to just how to meet Washington's threat against New York, Clinton, on June 9, duly reported to Germain in London, apprising him of the dismaying news contained in the intercepted letters, and remarking that since Admiral Graves had taken the fleet away from New York, he (Clinton) would write at once to the British commander in the West Indies, Admiral Rodney, to watch Grasse, lest that French officer slip away from the West Indies and come north to coöperate with Washington in an attack on New York. Clinton adds this prophetic remark: "For I must beg leave to repeat to Your Lordship that if the Enemy remain only a few Weeks superior at Sea, our Insular and detached situation will become very Critical." One must understand "insular" in its older meaning of "isolated". Clinton closed this letter to Germain with the lament that he had not heard from London for four months. No wonder he felt "insular".[10]

Since Cornwallis would not agree to move up nearer to Philadelphia, Clinton, on June 15, then besought him to send the reënforcements anyway, as they might be needed any minute against Washington. Four days later, Clinton wrote again to Cornwallis raising the number of required troops from 2000 to 3000 and informing his lordship that transports were being dispatched to bring them to New York. But here Clinton's forbearance with the feelings of his noble subordinate weakened his command, for he added that if Lord Cornwallis proposed to do anything with the large army in Virginia, he need not send the troops. Meantime, Cornwallis had been wandering about Virginia, reaching Williamsburg on June 25. On the 30th he wrote Clinton that he had examined the post at Yorktown, found it rather bad, and determined to go to Portsmouth.[11]

Not until June 26 did the long delayed mail from London arrive at New York. On that and the following day, Clinton received dis-

[9] Clinton to Cornwallis, Aug. 2; memo. in Germain's hand, undated, but written on the receipt of the news of the surrender at Yorktown, in Germain MSS., vol. "1781", facsimile of first page in R. G. Adams, *Papers of Lord George Germain*, p. 40; London *Chronicle*, Sept. 6–8. Clinton to ———, July 28, Shelburne MSS., 67:159.

[10] Clinton to Germain, June 9, is one of the letters printed at the time, in *Parl. Reg.*, VIII. 149, which shows how Clinton's dispatches, when printed at all, were garbled. Complete in Clinton MSS.

[11] Cornwallis to Clinton, June 30.

patches from Germain dated variously between January 31 and May 2—rather an accumulation of paper-work. If Clinton had read these letters promptly he would have ascertained that Germain's latest dispatch, dated May 2, practically forbade him to withdraw any of the troops in the Chesapeake area for duty at New York. Clinton had suggested drawing troops from Cornwallis before this. Germain advised Clinton that the most important object was the recovery of the southern colonies, and everything must be subordinated to that—in other words, the commander in chief was instructed to serve his inferior officer. Clinton seems to have ignored this letter, and on June 28 sent to Cornwallis an even more peremptory command to embark those reënforcements for New York without delay, because Clinton himself had decided to attack Philadelphia, "for very special reasons" which he did not divulge. Three days later, he sent a brusque order to Cornwallis to embark the troops within forty-eight hours.

By July 3, Clinton acknowledged Germain's flood of dispatches, but did not intimate that he had read them. He reported that he was taking troops away from the British armies in the South, which was contrary to the ministerial policy. On July 6, Clinton appears to have given up the idea of an attack on Philadelphia, and was planning with Admiral Graves for an attack on Newport, Rhode Island. Evidently both these plans were to draw off Washington from the threat against New York, as in both cases, Clinton had the shorter lines of communication.[12] By July 8, Clinton evidently had time to get down to Germain's instructions, and saw the disapproval of his policy of requisitioning troops from Cornwallis—whereupon he notified that general that, after all he need not send the troops from Virginia.

Admiral Graves, on July 9, objected to the technique of Clinton's plan against Rhode Island, and suggested another—whereupon Clinton changed his mind and went back to the idea of a raid on Philadelphia. As this would require the coöperation of army and navy, Clinton wrote to Cornwallis on July 11, directing him to stay at Williamsburg or, if he had left there, to return and await further orders. Moreover, he directed Cornwallis to hold all troops even though they were already embarked for New York. Then Clinton conferred with Graves, and on the same day (July 11) wrote again to Cornwallis, ordering him to seek, fortify, and hold some station in Virginia where the big ships of the navy could be safely anchored, and to remain on the defensive. Clearly, Clinton suggested Old Point Comfort as such

[12] Clinton to Graves, July 6; Graves to Clinton, July 9.

a station, and pointed out Yorktown and Gloucester as appropriate covering posts for the army. But, in view of the latitude which Clinton permitted Cornwallis for the use of his own judgment, it is difficult to place the blame for the selection of Yorktown as a defensive post on Clinton alone. It might truly be said that Cornwallis obeyed such of Clinton's directions as he chose, and then when things went wrong, blamed Clinton's orders.

The letter of July 11, instructing Cornwallis to stay at Williamsburg, was written when that officer had already departed and had executed his famous movement known to history as "repassing the James". From July 4 to 7, Cornwallis took his army south, across the James River, and on July 8 so reported to Clinton from Cobham, promising at the same time to send the required troops to New York as soon as he reached Portsmouth.

Realizing that his somewhat contradictory orders to Cornwallis would be duly commented upon by that officer to Germain, Clinton sent the minister his own explanation on July 13. He alleged that when all was ready to raid Philadelphia, Cornwallis had failed him and the plan had to be abandoned. This letter clearly sets forth the conflict between the policies of Cornwallis and Clinton. Cornwallis wanted to march and countermarch, with great parade, to fight pitched battles and win spectacular victories, to behave like a conqueror, and overawe the Americans with terror. Clinton had learned the futility of such a policy from the experience of Howe in 1776–1777. He therefore advocated a policy of attrition, with "desultory raids" on strategic points like Philadelphia and Newport. Germain, of course, agreed with the Cornwallis plan—but Clinton was probably correct. As if to prove Clinton right, the oft-defeated Washington ordered a big demonstration on the Harlem River the very next day (July 14). Despite five years of Germain's policy, Washington was now threatening New York more seriously than at any time since he had been driven thence in 1776.

Mid-July saw Clinton back to his Philadelphia plan. He therefore, on July 15, suggested two projects to Cornwallis: after joining forces in the Chesapeake, either Cornwallis should conduct an ambitious campaign in Virginia, or Clinton should take both armies to attack Philadelphia. This letter crossed one from Cornwallis, written on July 17, wherein his lordship announced that he was still trying to embark those demanded and countermanded troops from Portsmouth. This letter was brought by one Major George Damer, a creature of Germain's, who alternately attached himself to the staffs of Cornwallis

and Clinton, sending Germain private information about both officers. For the moment he evidently decided that Clinton would bear watching.

It was July 18 before Clinton replied in detail to Germain's five months' accumulation of dispatches, which he had received three weeks before. He pointedly disagreed with the minister. The Americans were far from being so "contemptible" as the minister seemed to imagine. The Pyrrhic victories of Rawdon and Cornwallis had depleted their armies without any corresponding gain. In fact, Sir Henry proposed quite candidly "to set Your Lordship right in some matters in which I fear you have been misinformed". The campaign in the South was not at all the glowing success which Cornwallis had reported to Germain, and "untoward incidents have thrown us too far back to be able to recover very soon what we have lately lost there". This is an unconscious tribute to the doughty Nathanael Greene and his Fabian tactics, to the agile Lafayette forever hanging on Cornwallis's coat-tails, but above all to the buckskin warriors at King's Mountain, whose victory Clinton afterward regarded as the turning point in Cornwallis's campaign. Six weeks earlier Clinton's scrutiny of the incomplete returns from Cornwallis convinced him that somewhere 2500 British soldiers had vanished into thin air. The truth was, as Clinton explained to Germain, Britain was simply outnumbered, and unless more troops could be sent, there was no chance of winning the war. (One might be permitted to infer that all this rushing up and down the Carolinas had so worn down the British troops that stragglers made deserters—and possibly backwoods settlers.)[13]

On July 20 and 21, Cornwallis received Clinton's orders countermanding the instructions for embarkation of troops, and ordering him not to leave Williamsburg. But as the letter was in cipher, there was apparently some delay in decoding it. In fact, Cornwallis seems to have let it remain unread one entire week, while he was establishing himself at Portsmouth.[14]

On July 24, Cornwallis wrote to Clinton a somewhat rambling letter which gives no indication that he had read either of the important dispatches received three days before. This dispatch tried to justify his meanderings around the southern colonies. It would seem that instead of being overawed by Cornwallis's raids, the southern

[13] Clinton to Leland, May 26, in *MSS. of the Marquess of Lothian*, Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept., 1905, p. 388.

[14] Cornwallis received Clinton's first letter of July 11 on July 20, and Clinton's second letter of July 11 on July 21.

colonies were as fiercely rebellious as ever. Moreover, the American cavalry corps were constantly destroying Cornwallis's land communications with Lord Rawdon in South Carolina. In addition, whenever Cornwallis made one of his brilliant and victorious advances, his subsequent retirement usually turned out to be a miniature retreat from Moscow, and in some cases took on the semblance of actual flight from the Americans.

It was not until July 27 that Cornwallis, then at Portsmouth, had time to reply to Clinton's letters received a week before, ordering him not to go to Portsmouth. Naturally Cornwallis's letter was a wail of protest, in which he promised to return to Yorktown, but complained that it was not a defensible post. He strengthened his argument by enclosing the report of the engineers to the effect that Old Point Comfort was no place in which to keep the 'Royal Navy'.

In the early summer of 1781 the royal navy had upon its roll many notable admirals—but they were not available at New York. Threats upon the coast of England by France and Holland kept Hyde Parker, Kempenfelt, Darby, and Shuldham busy defending the homeland itself. The next most important work was not at New York, or even in North American waters, but in the West Indies. There, Admirals Rodney and Hood were charged with the responsibility of defending the sugar islands, wherein so many English families had heavy investments. Moreover, Rodney and Hood had to watch Grasse. New York was relatively unimportant.[15]

Now Admiral Rodney at the West India station had been busy for some time with the combined pleasure and duty of looting the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, and the consequences thereof. These consequences had been annoying, as Rodney's ruthlessness had made no distinction between British and enemy goods. Moreover, his temper had probably not been improved by the news that when he finally dispatched thirty shiploads of plunder to England, the inconsiderate French naval commander, La Motte-Picquet, had dashed out from Brest and captured twenty-six of the convoy. Consequently, there were many things on Rodney's mind besides watching Admiral Grasse.[16]

On July 7, Rodney learned that Grasse, who was supposed to be at Martinique, had sailed thence, with thirty-six actual war vessels,

[15] L. M. Penson, London West India Interest in the 18th Century, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 373.

[16] Rodney's conduct at St. Eustatius and its sequel need not be elaborated here; see Rodney's *Letters* (*supra*) and Edna Vosper, *Report on the Sir John Vaughan Papers in the William L. Clements Library.*

but Rodney's informant did not know where they were going. In order to clear himself afterward, Rodney said that upon receipt of this intelligence he had specifically warned the admiral at New York that Grasse had sailed for Cape François (to pick up more troops and supplies), and was thence bound for the Chesapeake; therefore let the admiral at New York beware. If any such dispatch had actually been sent, and had actually been received at New York, both Graves and Clinton might have been forewarned. But they were not—for two reasons. First, Rodney never sent such a message. What he really wrote on July 7 was that Grasse had left Martinique, that Rodney did not know whether he had gone to Cape François, but that he was destined to sail to "America", without specifying the Chesapeake. This made a great deal of difference, because Clinton and Graves expected Grasse to come north, but the word "America", instead of "Chesapeake" would simply confirm Clinton and Graves in their opinion that Grasse was coming to coöperate with Washington in the attack on New York. The second reason that Clinton was not forewarned was this: the dispatch, even in its vastly different form, was entrusted to Captain Wells of the sloop *Swallow*. Wells reached New York safely, but as the dispatch was addressed to the admiral, and Graves was absent cruising off Boston, Wells started to follow him when, off the coast of Long Island, an American privateer hove into sight. Wells could not resist the temptation to punish the impudent Yankee skipper. The result was precisely the opposite of what Wells intended, because three more impudent Yankees sailed up, and Wells, carrying important dispatches which he had no right to jeopardize, was compelled to destroy them and beach the *Swallow* on Long Island. Graves did not receive Rodney's news until six weeks after it was sent.[17]

We have observed that on July 7 Rodney at Barbados received information to the effect that Grasse had left Martinique with thirty-six war ships, and that it was currently believed that the Frenchman was bound to Santo Domingo (Cape François). On July 9 Rodney ordered Hood to take eight ships to Antigua to refit and to sail with them then to reënforce Graves at New York, since Grasse was obviously on his way to join Barras at Newport. Shortly after this Rodney fell quite ill, and on July 23 ordered Admiral Drake to take command in the Leeward Islands while he, Rodney, proposed to return to England for his health. Hood was to go to New York. Then Rodney learned that an incoming British convoy of merchant

[17] Graves, *Two Letters*, pp. 9–12; Rodney, *Letters*, p. 149.

vessels was nearby, bound for Jamaica. Therefore, on July 24, he directed Hood to take twenty-two ships, instead of eight, and to conduct that convoy safely to Jamaica before going north to join Graves. A week later, on July 30, Rodney was badly deceived by some "disaffected British subjects" in consequence of which he sent Admiral Drake on a wild goose chase to St. Lucia with six ships to attack a French force which did not exist. Rodney had only himself to blame if his conduct at St. Eustatius had "disaffected" those who might otherwise have been loyal. Then Rodney's illness compelled him to embark for England on August 1.[18]

It is probably fair to say that the British had no real idea of the Franco-American plans. They were as puzzled as the Americans in regard to Grasse's purpose. They had a vague idea that the French admiral might come north, but when, and with what numbers, they knew not. Unfortunately for themselves they assumed that Grasse was bringing only a few vessels. Possibly Sir Henry Clinton should have been thinking this out. On July 28 he wrote a routine dispatch to Germain, saying that it was understood that Grasse had left Martinique and might be expected off New York at any time, but as Rodney was doubtless following him, all would be well.

So much for what one finds in the papers of Clinton and Germain, and in the official records generally. But something very different seems to have been absorbing Clinton at this period. Buried in the papers of the Earl of Shelburne is a series of letters endorsed from "Sir H. C." The calendarer has assumed that "H. C." is Sir Henry Crosby, an officer on Clinton's staff at New York. Many years ago Justin Winsor guessed that "H. C." was "Henry Clinton" and a reading of the letters makes this clear. The letters may have been written to Sir Charles Grey, who, of all the British generals, was the most loyal to Clinton. In a letter of July 28, Clinton unburdens himself with bitter words about Cornwallis's behavior, railing at his lordship as a spoiled child and favorite of the minister, and ending with the expressed determination that when the campaign of 1781 was

[18] Rodney, *Letters*, pp. 147–169; care must be taken to notice the pages in this book numbered by asterisks, as the pages are most confusing because of the addition of supplementary material without renumbering. See also London *Chronicle*, Sept. 8–11 and 25–27. When Rodney reached Bermuda, he sent a ship to New York bearing a last message to Graves that Grasse had twenty-eight large ships, of which Rodney imagined that twelve, and perhaps part of another squadron, were destined to go to North America. But even this misleading information did not reach Graves for three weeks, at the very moment when Graves was at grips, not with part of the French fleet, but with Grasse's whole force. Rodney, *Letters*, pp. 173–174; Graves, *Two Letters*, p. 33; *Parl. Reg.*, VIII. 204.

over "I shall resign the command which I have held with disgust under the present Minister [Germain]". The really important information in this letter has been oddly overlooked. In it Clinton tells us that he has gone blind.[19]

Clinton had attacks of this sort, both before and afterward. The exact nature of his blindness is naturally difficult to determine, and it appears to have been of a temporary type. People in New York during that summer complained that Clinton was unapproachable. Jeremy Bentham, a frequent visitor at Shelburne's country place, records gossip coming by way of Sir Charles Grey. "The same accounts still continue that we have heard before, of Clinton's eccentricities: that he shuts himself up for three or four days together, and is seen by nobody." Clinton's disagreement with Cornwallis as to policy was of such a nature that he did not wish that dormant commission to become an active one—hence he kept his own counsel about his physical condition. But it requires no great feat of imagination to understand that during those critical days, Clinton's mind may not have been at work trying to divine the plans of Grasse.[20]

By August 2, Clinton appears to have recovered sufficiently to go back to his old work of hammering at Cornwallis for reënforcements. In reviewing the controversy between them, Clinton suggested that if Cornwallis would not help him attack Philadelphia, and if he had no move of his own in contemplation, his lordship might send some troops to New York. Meantime, on July 27, Cornwallis had decided that Portsmouth was a worse position than Yorktown, and advised Clinton that he would return to the latter place.

[19] Shelburne MSS., 67:159.

[20] Bentham's *Works*, John Bowring, ed. (London, 1842), vol. X., pt. 1, pp. 107–108; Clinton to Buckinghamshire, Feb. 16, 1782, in *MSS. of Marquess of Lothian*, p. 410. In the course of the preparation of Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 542), Miss Jane Clark found that Clinton had a similar attack in the summer of 1777. The coincidence is interesting, as on both occasions Clinton was confronted with the difficult task of trying to succor a beleaguered British general, but with inadequate forces. The exact nature of Clinton's eye trouble is, of course, almost impossible to ascertain. Medical histories before the 19th century are notoriously inadequate. The facts are these: (1) Clinton was moody, sensitive, and of a brooding nature—decidedly an introvert type; (2) the blindness was of a temporary nature; (3) the disability attacked Clinton on at least three known occasions when he was faced with the necessity of making a momentous decision; (4) Spaeth in his article, The Differentiation of the Ocular Manifestations of Hysteria and of Ocular Malingering (*Archives of Ophthalmology*, Dec. 1930, pp. 912, 927), suggests a reasonable explanation of Clinton's trouble. I am under obligation to Dr. A. S. Barr, ophthalmologist, and Dr. A. M. Barrett, professor of psychiatry at the University of Michigan, for their aid in this matter. Harold Murdock, in his *Bunker Hill*, has most suggestively entitled one chapter The Sensitiveness of General Clinton.

On August 3, off Antigua, Admiral Hood received some real news. Rodney, just before he sailed for England on August 1, had been informed that thirty American pilots for the Delaware and Chesapeake had arrived at Cape François, the French section of the island of Santo Domingo. It was to Cape François that Grasse was making his way. Rodney advised Hood, without comment. Hood saw that this was important information and dispatched the sloop *Active* to New York, to warn Graves. Fate was with the Americans again, for the *Active* was captured and taken into Philadelphia. The significance of pilots for the Chesapeake was lost.[21]

Clinton wrote to Germain on August 9 that he had managed to hold up the troops which Cornwallis was to send from Virginia, but that Germain must understand that Cornwallis had at his disposal at least twice the force that Clinton had in New York. He mentioned again that Grasse might be en route, but still seemed firmly convinced that New York was the destination of Grasse's armament. Clinton begged Germain to send reënforcements and hoped that the promised German troops would arrive before Grasse. Two days later the Germans arrived, supposedly 2500 strong, but sixty-six had died at sea, and 410 were down with scurvy. Not satisfied with this kind of a reënforcement, Clinton wrote to Cornwallis again on August 11, asking that the Light Infantry and Queen's Rangers be sent to New York. He assumed that Cornwallis was by this time well fortified at Yorktown and could spare the troops. This, just after he had written to Germain saying he was taking no troops from Cornwallis. Meantime the grim Washington kept Clinton on edge by making another demonstration against New York, this time with 11,000 men.

Cornwallis took more time than anticipated in moving his army back from Portsmouth to Yorktown, and on August 12 he was obliged to notify Clinton that he had not yet been able to get all the troops up the river. Then he made the mistake of fortifying the wrong side first. Yorktown and Gloucester are on opposite banks of the York River; Cornwallis proposed to hold both. Yorktown was the more important, but he began to fortify Gloucester first, with the result that the Yorktown fortifications were not complete when the crisis came.

Mid-August saw Clinton somewhat recovered in spirits, so that on August 16 he gaily suggested to Graves that, as Grasse could not possibly arrive for another week or ten days, they might try again to attack Newport; whereupon Graves decided that two ships needed repairs. As for Grasse, Graves now believed that the story of his

[21] Graves, *Two Letters*, pp. 13–14; CCC, II. 141; Rodney, *Letters*, p. 166.

coming was nothing but the product of a "heated imagination", and even if Grasse did come, it would be with only a few vessels to replace those which Barras was sending back to France to refit. Still, it appeared that when Graves's ships were repaired, Clinton might at last get something done. On August 18 he had 3000 men ready to embark, and could go to Newport on twenty-four hours' notice. But it took two days more to repair the ships. Whereupon, on August 20, Clinton had another attack of blindness.[22]

On that same day, Cornwallis was extremely irritated. His army was still straggling up from Portsmouth to Yorktown, the work on the fortifications was slow (Virginia in August) and all kinds of details were going wrong. He therefore wrote to Clinton a somewhat querulous letter, saying that he had left the Yorktown region because Clinton wanted him to go to Portsmouth and that no sooner was he across the James, en route to Portsmouth, than Clinton ordered him to attack Philadelphia. Moreover, his lordship had many times expressed the opinion that Clinton's Philadelphia idea was fatuous so that if Sir Henry wanted to attack Philadelphia by way of the Chesapeake, he had better come and do it himself.[23]

August 20, Clinton blind, Cornwallis angry, Graves puttering around, and Hood utterly out of touch with his most important task of watching Grasse. Moreover, even at New York, Graves and Clinton were not closely in contact with one another, as the general's headquarters were on what is now 52nd Street and the admiral's land quarters were in what is now South Brooklyn. One letter between the two got mislaid for three days at this time. That very August 20, 1781, the van of the American army crossed from the east to the west bank of the Hudson River, above New York. Just as Hood lost Grasse, Clinton seems to have lost Washington. Let us glance at the intelligence reports coming into the British headquarters during those days. On August 16, the scouts brought positive information that Rochambeau and Washington had just received news that Grasse had arrived at Newport! Such information could only serve to confirm Clinton's view that New York was the objective. On August 18, another bit of intelligence came to Clinton to the effect that the American army was under orders to march at a minute's notice

[22] Graves to Clinton and Clinton to Graves, Aug. 17; Graves to Clinton and Clinton to Graves, Aug. 18; Graves to Clinton, Aug. 21, in Clinton MSS. Shelburne MSS., 67:163.

[23] Cornwallis to Clinton, Aug. 20.

"where, it has not Transpired", but the informant seemed to believe they were going north.[24]

On August 19, the British scout Marquard, north of New York, sent three separate dispatches to Adjutant General Delancey at the British headquarters. The first, written in the morning, announced that Marquard had positive information from one of his woman agents that the French had struck their tents and were marching for North Castle (which was to the north) and that Washington was preparing to cross the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry. The second dispatch, written at 2 P. M., confirmed this but could not guess which way the Franco-American forces were going. The third was written at 9 P. M., when the female informant reached Marquard's quarters, and was equally confusing as to why and where Washington was going. Now historians have long known that on August 18, Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, of the Jägers, had positive information that "an American woman, who was the mistress of a French officer of distinction, had been instructed to go to Trenton".[25] Marquard now got the similar information (or perhaps it relates to the same persons): "Colonel Rochambeau, Son of the Count, told his Girl yesterday, that he had a horse ready for her and that She must be this evening at North Castle Church, This mistress is a Rhode Island Lady, who followed him unknown to his Father, as he will allow no kept mistresses." Thus Clinton was being advised from two directions, one of them rather close to the French high command, that something was under way. But he took no action. On the 20th, three more notes were sent to Delancey. Wurmb sent word that the Americans had certainly crossed the Hudson. Marquard reported that the rebel baggage and heavy artillery were going across. Captain Beckwith reported that he could not ascertain what the Americans were contemplating, but was sure that their whole plan had suddenly undergone a material change. On the whole, it is clear that the British intelligence service was functioning, though perhaps not brilliantly. The information was making very little impression at headquarters.

On August 21, Beckwith wrote to headquarters that it was the prevailing opinion among the Americans that they were going to Baltimore. Next day, "Squib" and another anonymous correspondent sent news that there was reason to believe that the Americans were

[24] Knox and McCoy, to (Adjutant General Delancey at New York); "Trusty", to Beverley Robinson; these and other intelligence reports will be found in the Intelligence Papers, Clinton MSS., under dates mentioned.

[25] E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians . . . in the Revolutionary War*, pp. 262–263; Marquard-Delancey letters in Clinton MSS.

heading for the Chesapeake. On August 23, "Information" advised headquarters that the French were on their way to Philadelphia. Next day Marquard sent in similar intelligence gained from something which a spy had overheard from the French commissary general.

In the meantime, Graves went on repairing his ships. On August 21, he told Clinton he had just heard that Barras was about to leave Rhode Island. Clinton replied that he had reliable information to the effect that Grasse was bringing only a few ships north. Neither Graves nor Clinton seemed to have an inkling of Barras's destination. It is indeed odd that such an exchange of thoughts could have taken place without either realizing that Barras was going to join Grasse. By August 22 Cornwallis had got all his troops up to Yorktown and was so busy digging in, that he notified Clinton that he could spare no troops for another six weeks. Three alarming factors presented themselves to his lordship: first, Wayne and Lafayette had somehow been reënforced; second, he had been followed from Portsmouth by a mob of Loyalist refugees who were consuming his provisions more rapidly than he liked; third, of the 3000 entrenching tools which Clinton had sent south, Cornwallis's engineer returns showed only 992, while less than 400 could actually be located by the storekeeper.[26]

On August 23, when the Franco-American forces were passing the Hudson and heading south through Princeton, Chief Justice Smith of New York visited Clinton and urged him to go out and stop the everlasting marching and countermarching by the Americans. Clinton replied that, as Washington had at least 12,000 men and as the British could muster barely 3000 for such an expedition, it would be useless. So another day passed while the Americans moved steadily southward. About the 25th the traitor Arnold went to see Clinton and returned disgusted with the commander in chief's want of initiative. Two days more slipped away. On the 27th, Clinton wrote to Cornwallis that he was frankly puzzled by Washington's move, and could only guess that the American was moving back to his old headquarters at Morristown.[27]

Next day, Admiral Hood arrived with his ships of the British West India squadron. He had seen nothing of Grasse and had no idea where he was. Doubtless there were congratulations that Hood had

[26] CCC, II. 244–245. The affair of the entrenching tools was part of the reason why the fortifications at Yorktown were not completed in time. CCC, II. 209–210, 250; Clinton to Buckinghamshire, Dec. 29, in *MSS. of Marquess of Lothian*, p. 407.

[27] William Smith's *Diary*, reprinted in parts in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, V. 1134; J. Thacher, *Military Journal* (Boston, 1823), p. 323; London *Chronicle*, Jan. 17–19, 1782.

reached New York before Grasse.[28] On the same day the scout, Marquard, sent word to Delancey that the French were now over the Hudson River, that they had shifted their camp for three successive nights (Marquard did not seem to understand that this meant that the French were actually on the march), and that Washington was carrying flatboats, for what purpose, Marquard did not opine.

August 29 seems to be the earliest date at which we can say that any English officers actually understood what had happened, and that does not mean that the news reached headquarters on the 29th. A British scout named Ogden, who was evidently not in a position to act openly, wrote on a tiny scrap of paper a message which he enclosed in a button and sent to Delancey. The message read: "The Chesapeake is the Object—all in motion—August 29th—Squib." On the same day word was received from a British sympathizer in Philadelphia that ten French ships had been seen off the capes of the Chesapeake. While we do not know just when these two messages reached Clinton, or how soon he laid side by side the information which they contained, we do know that Commodore Affleck relayed the news from Philadelphia to Graves with the brilliant remark that the rest of the French fleet had gone back to Europe.[29]

On August 30, Clinton wrote optimistically to Cornwallis: "Mr. Washington's force still remains in the neighborhood of Chatham [N. J.] and I do not hear he has yet detached to the southward." As a matter of fact, Washington reached Philadelphia in person that very day. Clinton held the letter two days, and then added a postscript that unless Washington sent troops south, there would be no need for Clinton to send Cornwallis any reënforcement.[30]

Graves now decided that the addition of Hood's fleet gave him a clear superiority to the French fleet, so on August 31 he put to sea to seek and chastise Barras's little fleet, even though it were joined by a few vessels from Grasse's West India squadron. That same day Cornwallis learned that between thirty and forty ships had come inside the capes of the Chesapeake, but as to what they were, he was noncommittal.

[28] Hood to Stephens, Aug. 30, Hood, *Letters* (London, 1895), pp. 25–26.

[29] Affleck to Graves, Aug. 29, Graves, *Two Letters*, p. 16. One report even had Grasse en route to South America, London *Chronicle*, Oct. 9–11.

[30] As to Washington's position on Aug. 30, I am aware that his diaries suggest that he reached Philadelphia on the 31st, but the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Sept. 1, the Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 5, and J. Hiltzheimer's *Diary* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 45, all agree that he reached Philadelphia on the 30th. I have laid this before Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, who agrees that my statement is probably correct.

September 1 is the date upon which we can say definitely that the higher British commanders finally realized what had happened. Cortland Skinner wrote directly to Clinton (not Delancey) that the Rebels were headed for Princeton. This ought to have disposed of the idea, which still lingered in Clinton's head, that Washington was going to attack New York by way of Staten Island.[31] Princeton was not on the road to Staten Island. Cornwallis learned that the vessels inside the capes were Grasse's, and not Grasse with a few ships, but the whole French West India fleet. Eloquently brief is his cipher dispatch of September 2: "Comte de Grasse's fleet is within the Capes of the Chesapeak. Forty boat loads with troops went up the James river yesterday; and four ships lie at the entrance of this river." It must have been late in the day of September 1 when Clinton finally was convinced—for that morning he had written Cornwallis otherwise. Yet William Smith's diary attests that on that day it was known in New York that Washington had not stopped in New Jersey, but was hurrying southward. Still Clinton waited a day before, on September 2, he wrote to Cornwallis: "It would seem that Mr. Washington is moving an army to the southward, with every appearance of haste. . . . I shall either endeavor to reinforce the army under your command . . . or make every possible diversion in your favour."[32] Clinton was sure that it would take Washington three weeks to reach Cornwallis—Washington was at Williamsburg in person in two weeks, and at that, he had stopped off three days at Mount Vernon.

Clinton was confident that Cornwallis had nothing to fear from the French fleet; Hood and Graves would take care of that. But Graves and Hood failed, and failed badly. Looking for Grasse with only a few ships, they found Grasse with a fleet that outnumbered the combined fleets of Graves and Hood. On September 5, a naval battle was fought off the capes of Virginia, which some historians have been pleased to call "indecisive". As a matter of fact, few naval actions in history have decided more. Graves handled his fleet badly, and got into the action only a part of his force, which was severely battered by Grasse. After the fight, both fleets maneuvered for position, and it seems that at one time Graves was actually nearer to Yorktown than Grasse. Instead of taking advantage of this opportunity to rush in and rescue Cornwallis, Graves stood out to sea. Then Hood lost all touch

[31] Clinton to Germain, Sept. 7, Clinton MSS.

[32] Even this letter does not prove that Clinton was entirely convinced that Washington was moving south. As late as Sept. 4, Clinton wrote to Germain, telling of Arnold's expedition to New London, but making no mention of Washington.

with Grasse and on September 10 wrote Graves: "I flatter myself you will forgive the liberty I take in asking whether you have any knowledge where the French fleet is . . . ." Evidently at the moment Graves did not know either, for it was the 13th before he replied: "The French fleet are at anchor . . . in the Chesapeake," and Graves desired Hood's "opinion what to do with the fleet . . . ". Hood's reply was equally futile: "Sir Samuel would be very glad to send an opinion, but he really knows not what to say in the truly lamentable state we have brought ourselves." A council of war, held on the *London,* at sea, decided that the damaged state of the fleet, the coming equinoxial storms, and the impossibility of helping Cornwallis made it wise for the British to head for New York and refit. They certainly could not help Cornwallis now, because, during these maneuvers, Barras had slipped into the Chesapeake, with the Newport squadron, and Grasse was stronger than ever. Perhaps it now dawned on Graves why Barras had left Rhode Island.[33]

On August 28, while Clinton was still playing with his Rhode Island idea, he had embarked 3000 troops for that expedition. When Graves went out on the 31st, Clinton disembarked the troops. On September 6, Clinton reëmbarked the troops and 1000 more, to be ready to sail for Yorktown the minute that Graves returned with the fleet. What, specifically, he proposed to do with those 4000 men when he neared Cornwallis does not appear. But at least he was ready to go. While waiting for Graves to return he wrote a dispatch to Germain on September 7, saying "I told you so" in a variety of ways. In this Clinton shows that he had clearly overrated Cornwallis's strength. He even spoke of the Loyalist refugees (who were eating up Cornwallis's provisions) as an asset. He further bitterly complained of Germain's failure to send adequate land and naval reënforcements with which to meet this emergency. True, it was not quite the same emergency which Clinton had been talking about all summer, but if proper reënforcement had been sent it could have been met.

Then Clinton waited for Graves—and waited, and waited. It took Graves two weeks to reach New York after his action off the Chesapeake. Meantime, on September 13, Clinton held a council of war in which Commodore Affleck represented the absent navy.[34]

[33] The decisive character of Grasse's victory is well summed up by Myron T. Herrick's address at the Grasse château, Apr. 25, 1928 (typescript given by Ambassador Herrick to the W. L. Clements Library). Making allowance for the fact that the ambassador was eulogizing Grasse, his conclusions on this point are about right. See Hood, *Letters,* pp. 28–38.

[34] The Clinton MSS. contain the minutes of thirteen councils of war held at New

Between the lines of the minutes, one may discern the somewhat hysterical nature of the conference. Affleck wanted to embark 5000 men and convoy them with a single ship of the line to Yorktown. How he proposed to get such a forlorn hope through the entire French fleet does not appear. General Leslie was frantic at the delay and wanted something, anything, done at once. But General Robertson strongly objected to haste, saying that they should wait, not only for the return of Graves, but for the additional naval reënforcement which Admiral Digby was even then bringing from England. Next day, September 14, Clinton held another council of war, to which the traitor Arnold was called in. It was agreed that since Cornwallis had 8000 men and provisions for 10,000 to the end of October, they should wait for Graves, Hood, and Digby. On the 15th, Graves, still at sea, reported his "shattered" fleet as being on its way back to Sandy Hook. He added mournfully that the French were masters of the Chesapeake, and that nothing could be got in to Cornwallis by sea save at night. Indeed, he had his fleet huddled together lest pursuing French cruisers cut out the straggling vessels.[35]

September 16 found the Franco-American armies closing in on Cornwallis. His lordship wrote Clinton that only the commander in chief's promise to come at once to the aid of Yorktown prevented him from flinging his whole army in open battle against the French and Americans, which would have been a despairing gesture. Cornwallis still had six weeks' provisions, but, as the work on the fortifications on the Yorktown side had been fatally slow, Cornwallis concluded his letter with these words: "This place is in no State of defense. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the Worst."

On September 19, Graves got his badly damaged fleet back to New York, but in no condition to sail out at once convoying troops to Cornwallis, nor to break through the French fleet in the process. Four precious days were then consumed in ascertaining what repairs were needed, so that it was not until the 23d that ten ships were sent up to the yards and work begun. On the same day Clinton held another council of war of his general officers. They reached the some-

York between Sept. 13 and Oct. 16, 1781. They may be found by date in the Clinton MSS. The significance of these documents was pointed out to me by the late Professor C. H. Van Tyne, who mentioned some in his *England and America*, pp. 144–145. Since 1927 the others have been discovered, which throw a somewhat different light on Clinton's responsibility. Professor Van Tyne intended to use them in the third volume of his *History of the Founding of the American Republic*, which was never completed.

[35] Graves to Clinton, Sept. 15, which reached Clinton Sept. 17; Clinton to Germain, Sept. 26.

what obvious conclusion that a direct move by army and navy was the only thing that could save Cornwallis. This necessitated another council the next day at which the flag, as well as the general, officers were present. This assembly decided to put the troops on the "King's Ships", that is, the royal navy, not the transports, and send word to Cornwallis that they would start south by October 5.

On that same day Admiral Digby arrived at Sandy Hook with a small naval reënforcement—and Prince William Henry, destined to become King William IV. of England. On the 25th, nearly a week after he had got back to New York, Graves discovered that the navy yard had no lumber with which to repair his ships. So Clinton rushed over from his stores the wood which had been marked for barracks at St. Lucia. Next, Graves found that he was without combustibles with which to prepare fire ships, and Clinton had to open up the army ordnance stores. Next day, the 26th, Prince William landed at New York, and two days were consumed in parties, parades, receptions, and speeches.[36]

Cornwallis's letter announcing that if he were not speedily relieved, Clinton might expect to hear "the worst", reached New York on the 23d, when Clinton interpreted it to mean that Cornwallis would be forced to retreat out of harm's way. On the 26th it impressed itself upon him that "worst" might have another meaning, and he hastily called a council of general officers, who expressed the opinion that "worst" meant "worst" and that Cornwallis could not retreat, but would be forced to surrender. In his anxiety to do something, Clinton reverted to his favorite project, a raid into the Jerseys toward Philadelphia. The generals sensibly opposed this on the ground that they certainly did not want the army to be away on any such junket when the ships should be ready.

Digby and Hood were much dissatisfied with the idea of putting the army and navy to sea without any very clear idea of what they were going to do when they reached Virginia. Therefore, on September 27, they sought out Clinton and began to ask questions. For example, inquired Digby, is the navy merely to take the army within striking distance of Cornwallis and then sail away to safety? Clinton protested against any such notion, for how could he feed that mob without the fleet? Well, then, asked Digby, suppose by some miracle the fleet gets through Grasse's augmented fleet and into the Chesapeake, how are they to be got out again? Doubts were also raised as to whether Admiral Graves's promise to sail on October 5 was in

[36] Clinton to Germain, Sept. 26; Stokes, *Iconography*, V. 1136.

any way to be trusted.[37] Whereupon, on the 28th, Clinton called another council of the general officers to discuss these points. They agreed on but one thing, namely, that Graves would not be ready by October 5, and that Cornwallis should certainly be notified to that effect. But first they asked Graves, who confirmed their fears, saying that he could not set out before October 8.[38]

There is ample evidence that about this time the British headquarters at New York was the scene of considerable discord. Captain William Cornwallis, of H. M. 74-gun ship *Canada* was storming around because Graves's delays were imperiling his brother, Lord Charles Cornwallis, at Yorktown. Major Damer, Germain's friend, was one of the officers who had been embarked, disembarked, and reëmbarked until he was decidedly acid in his comments on Clinton's incapacity and his failure to anticipate Washington's plans. William Smith wrote that Clinton was a domineering trifler surrounded by a staff of third-rate sycophants. Arnold was disgruntled on many counts—the more so when he saw his advice being ignored by the British as much as it ever had been by the Americans. Old General Robertson relieved the tension by being "abandoned to Frivolity—he has Parties of Girls in the Fort Garden, in the Midst of his own Fears, and the Anxieties of this Hour".[39]

Now when Graves reported that he could not sail before October 8, Clinton called another council of the flag and general officers on September 30. They agreed that they must sail, even though the whole French navy were between them and Cornwallis. But when? It was apparent that they must again delay the date to October 12. The navy men then withdrew, and the army men held a separate council and agreed to send to Cornwallis at once the news of this further delay, but not to tell the navy that they had done so.

The work on the ships at New York went on, while the Americans tightened their lines about Yorktown. On October 3, Washington was within 1100 yards of Cornwallis's works. On October 5, Graves discovered that there was no powder fit for use on board his own flagship, the *London*. Clinton patiently opened up the army stores without comment.

The next day, Graves and Clinton got into an unfortunate squabble. Graves began it by reopening an old question of whether the 69th

[37] Minutes of the council of war of Sept. 28.

[38] Graves to Clinton, Sept. 28; *Parl. Reg.*, VIII. 196.

[39] H. Brodrick to T. Townshend, Sept. 30, in Ross, *Cornwallis*, I. 121; Damer to Germain, Sept. 27, in Germain MSS.; Stokes, *Iconography*, V. 1134–1135.

regiment belonged to the army or the navy. Clinton insisted that it was his, while Graves declared that it was needed for marine duty on Hood's squadron. Then Graves raised the question of what should be done with the troops embarked on the war vessels, if it were impossible to relieve Cornwallis, and Hood had to hurry back to his West India station. Should Hood take with him the quota of troops carried on his vessels? The seriousness of this affair lay, as mentioned above, in the fact that leaving the West Indies unguarded meant criticism in Parliament from the British investing classes. It seems to have disturbed Graves more than Hood, but then Hood was probably an abler man than his superior.

Clinton took these matters up on October 7 and wrote to Graves, suggesting that if Hood must hurry back to the West Indies, then empty transports should follow the fleet at sea. In the event that they were unable to relieve Cornwallis, then Hood must transfer the troops to the transports at sea. Graves said he would present the matter at a council of the flag officers next day. Evidently Digby was ashore the night of October 7, and saw Clinton. They decided that a meeting of the flag and general officers was essential to iron out this latest difficulty, and it would appear that Clinton told Digby to see Graves and ask him to come up to the army headquarters for such a meeting the next day. But Graves had arranged a meeting of his own flag officers for that day and was apparently angered at what he regarded as Clinton's attempt to order him around. On the morning of October 8, he therefore sent a very stiff letter, written in the third person, wherein he virtually said to Clinton, "Don't wait the meeting for me, as I shall not be there".

At the meeting of the flag officers Graves's behavior convinced even Hood that he was anxious to make trouble and create difficulties for the army. It is, however, clear that Hood solved the problem of the troops on board his ships by saying that the relief of Cornwallis was of paramount importance, and that the precious West Indies would have to take care of themselves. In reporting this gathering, Hood wrote to a friend: "I own to you I think very meanly of the ability of our present commanding officer [Graves]. I know he is a *cunning* man, he may be a good theoretical man, but he is certainly a bad practical one, and most clearly proved himself on the fifth of last month to be unequal to the conducting of a great squadron."[40]

Clinton did not reply to Graves's brusque letter until the next day, when he replied with the utmost civility and tact that the apparent offense had been due to a misconception.

[40] Hood and Rodney both criticized Graves's incompetence, Hood, *Letters*, pp. 28, 44.

Another day slipped away before Clinton called another council of generals to take up the rather important question of what they would do with an army and fleet which the French would not permit to get near Yorktown. They decided to land either at Newport News or on Monday's Point, on the north shore of the York River, though how anyone who was examining a map could imagine that they were going to reach either place, is difficult to understand. During this council of the 10th the wind shifted, and even had Graves been ready to go, it would have been impossible.

On October 11, the Americans were within 600 yards of Cornwallis's works at Yorktown. On the 12th, they cut that down to 300 yards. Yorktown was being subjected to a furious bombardment by heavy artillery. Clinton whiled away the 14th writing to Cornwallis his plans for landing the troops, and to Germain assuring him that the army of relief had already been embarked. October 15 found the fleet at New York still windbound, and on this same day Cornwallis mournfully wrote that it was too late, for if Clinton came now he would risk losing his army also. October 16 was devoted to another council of war at New York, whereat the generals now saw the futility of their plans of landing as devised on the 10th, and yet, determined to see the matter through, decided to land on the yet more inaccessible Rappahannock. Next day Cornwallis wrote to Washington, proposing a capitulation.

It was not until October 18 that the army and navy, Clinton and Graves, and the all important wind decided to play together. The army for the relief of Yorktown proceeded only as far as Sandy Hook when the tide turned against it, and not until the 19th did the armament get to sea. From Graves's flagship, the *London,* Clinton wrote to Germain expressing the opinion that he would be in time to save Cornwallis. But in a private letter to his correspondent (whose letters are preserved in the Shelburne Collection) he wrote in such manner as to show that he knew he was embarked on a crazy expedition. The French fleet still outnumbered the British, and even if they defeated Grasse, they would still have to deal with the combined forces of Washington and Rochambeau. There never was a better illustration of the bulldog's persistence. Bitterly Clinton blamed Germain for the failure to send men and supplies and for misleading him into believing that Rodney would take care of Grasse.[41]

[41] Clinton to Cornwallis, Oct. 18, in Clinton MSS.; Clinton to ——, Oct. 19, in Shelburne MSS., 67:167; Clinton to Germain, Oct. 19, in Clinton MSS.; Damer to Germain, Oct. 13 and 29, in Germain MSS.

Clinton and Graves reached the Chesapeake on October 24, only to find that Cornwallis had surrendered his army five days earlier.

The disaster of this British army at Yorktown produced a pamphlet battle. Sometimes I am inclined to think that every few months during the rest of his life, Clinton selected a fresh copy of one of these pamphlets and covered the margin with annotations, reproaches, and explanations. A collection of fifty-two such copies exists in the Library of Congress. A similar collection exists with Clinton's own papers in the William L. Clements Library. The Clements collection also contains hundreds of notes, memoranda, drafts, and letters on the subject, written in Clinton's execrable scrawl, not to mention the folios of his Historical Detail.[42] Some day, perhaps all these may be published, but no scholar who has examined them will venture to predict when that will occur. It is difficult for outsiders to form a conception of the bulk of this material—and its illegibility. Clinton's friends often wrote him not to employ his own penmanship.

No one who has surveyed these sources can fail to be impressed with the fact that the surrender at Yorktown, like most historic events, can not be traced to any single cause. It was the result of interacting causes. Germain's wrong-headed favoritism and his failure to support his principal commander; Cornwallis's mistaken belief that a British victory was an American defeat; Clinton's failure to divine the plans of Washington in time; the condition of Graves's fleet after the battle with Grasse off the capes of the Chesapeake; Rodney's illness; Clinton's blindness; Graves's incompetence; Hood's failure to keep track of Grasse—all these explain something. Nothing, however, can detract from the extraordinary patience and strategy of George Washington, who, after watching ill luck and incompetence spoil his plans and defeat his purposes for five years, at the last managed a campaign in which every essential element functioned on time and in time. This story might well be entitled "When Britain failed to muddle through".

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

The William L. Clements Library.

[42] An Historical Detail of Seven Years' Campaign in North America, 3 vols., MS. in Clinton MSS; CCC, I. xix.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Prohibition in the Confederacy

As everyone knows, the Old South was fond of its drink. The frosty mint juleps of the Kentucky gentlemen and the fiery corn liquor of the mountaineer are proverbial. In the low country the elegant planters drank imported brandies and clarets, but there were also good domestic whiskies and wines. What Southerner past forty does not recall the excellence of the Catawba wines of North Carolina, the scuppernong and muscadine wines of South Carolina, and the peach brandy of Georgia! In 1861 every plantation and farm had its "grape arbors", and in September the slaves were busy at the presses. The product of the black vintners compared favorably with the vintages of Bordeaux. Temperance was regarded as a virtue; but the right of a citizen to possess and consume, within the limits of reasonable sobriety, beverages of any alcoholic percentage whatsoever, was never questioned. Yet, two phases of our present prohibition problem became burning issues in the Confederacy.

Prohibition in the Confederacy was the enforced product of war conservation. It was never a high moral issue; although, indeed, we do find that the Confederate Congress twice passed acts to discourage drunkenness in the army—with no reason at all for implying abstinence in the navy and the marine corps. Prohibition arose from the twofold necessity of conserving the grain supplies in order to feed the armed forces and of conserving the inbound tonnage of the blockade-runners in order to increase the importation of war supplies. There was no single law on the subject, but a multiplicity of state and federal enactments; and the policies of the several state governments often clashed with those of the general government. Some very interesting passages, almost of arms, developed between the Confederate and the local authorities; and, in at least one instance, attained the proportions of a genuine *impasse*—thanks to the practice of state rights.

The market price of rectified whisky rested on the 20 @ 25 cent level in the winter of 1860–1861, but by the summer of 1861, it had jumped to fifty-five cents a gallon and was quoted as scarce. In the spring of 1862, it had risen to $1.10 @ $1.20 in New Orleans, and was somewhat higher on the Atlantic seaboard. During this time wheat

had jumped from $1.25 a bushel to $3.00, though sugar of grade fair to fully fair had dropped from six and three-fourths to four cents a pound. Since Confederate dollars had not then suffered material depreciation, these prices may be taken as a direct measure of the supply and the demand.

At this time the sugar producing section was still within the lines of the Confederate army, although it was soon to be drawn into the battle area. The Old South had been too engrossed with cotton culture to produce all her foodstuffs. Much of her grain had come from the Northwest, and with hungry soldiers to feed, the grain stocks rapidly diminished. The public press urged upon the planters the necessity of cutting down the cotton acreage and of increasing the acreage devoted to grain production. The general and state governments enacted numerous laws to encourage the growing of foodstuffs at the expense of cotton, lifting many of the war burdens, such as impressment of labor, from those plantations devoted solely to the production of food supplies. Despite the pressure, both governmental and journalistic, it became evident that the grain crops would not equal the demands of the army and that the utmost economy must be enforced everywhere in the consumption of grain. During 1862, most of the state legislatures passed laws not only to safeguard the consumption of grain, but particularly to prohibit its use as an ingredient in the manufacture of whisky, brandy, and beer.

As a result of state prohibition the price of whisky jumped skyward. At Richmond in September, 1863, it was quoted at $35 a gallon, but imported liquors also shared in the rise. The market price of rum at this time was $29.50 a gallon, of claret, $70 a case, and of cognac, $150 a case.

The foreign supply was not cut off by law until February 6, 1864. On that date, President Davis approved an act, first, to prohibit the importation of certain luxuries, and second, to require one-half of the tonnage of all inbound vessels to be reserved for government account. Among the prohibited "luxuries" were spirits distilled from grain, brandy, wine, imitations of wine, beer, ale, porter, and cider. Nevertheless, cognacs, champagne, and clarets in appreciable quantities regularly got by the revenue officers, for the shipmasters soon learned that a present of a few bottles of *fine champagne* was a powerful persuader with the port officials, whether of the armed or customs service. Occasionally, cases of brandy or wine were openly listed in the blockade stocks advertised in the newspapers. During the first year of the war brandy had sold for about $36 a case; but the price of a dozen

bottles had gone up to $175 by the winter of 1863–1864, and it continued upward as the value of the currency declined and the regulations governing foreign commerce were more strictly enforced.

In spite of the fact that the state governments prohibited the distillation of grains and the Confederate government forbade the importation of alcoholic beverages, large quantities of alcohol and alcoholic stimulants were, nevertheless, required for the maintenance of the army and the navy. While whisky was not a component of the army ration, its issue was allowed to troops "under circumstances of great exposure and protracted fatigue". It was, however, a part of the prescribed navy ration, and was used regularly in the hospitals and medical laboratories. There is no record of the amount of spirits consumed by the Navy Department; but the alcoholic issues by the medical department of the army averaged 16,800 gallons a month in 1863, and by 1865 reached the average of 52,000 gallons.

The major portion of these issues was for hospital uses, although a fairly large quantity was consumed in the manufacture of medicine. As the War Department's laboratories were unable to produce all of the medical supplies required by the land forces, the surgeon-general of the army directed the medical officers to compound in the field as much of their requirements as possible from herbs, indigenous to the neighboring "forests and savannahs". This necessitated the use of considerable amounts of whisky as a solvent. For instance, it took a gallon of whisky to prepare sixty-four doses of a quinine substitute, which was made from the dried bark of dogwood, poplar, and willow trees. (The formula called for two pounds of a mixture consisting of thirty parts each of dogwood and poplar bark and forty parts of willow bark to be added to one gallon of whisky of 45° strength and allowed to macerate for fourteen days.) This preparation was used both as a tonic and a febrifuge. Because of the high prevalence of malaria in the South, large quantities of it were required.

Whisky as a regular issue in the navy was suspended late in 1863 on account of the failure of the department's contract distillers. The market value of ordinary grades of whisky ranged from $60 to $75 a gallon, which made the cost of the spirituous component of the ration actually $2.00, whereas it was commutable under the navy regulations at four cents. However, a year later, the alcoholic ration appears to have been resumed upon the recommendation of the chief surgeon of the navy. He advised the secretary of the navy that it was needed to strengthen and fortify the systems of the sailors against the attack of fevers, and suggested that it be issued with hot coffee to the crews,

"at an early hour every morning, before proceeding to scouring the decks, as a means of counteracting the effects of the damp and chilling drafts so prevalent on all fresh-water courses and malarial regions at the dawn of day".

In order to supply the public services with whisky and alcohol, extensive contracts were made by the War and Navy departments. In the fall of 1862, the commissary general of subsistence had contracts in Georgia for the delivery of 250,000 gallons of whisky. The legislature then passed a law requiring all distilleries to be located at least twenty miles from a railroad or navigable stream. On November 29, 1862, the secretary of war wrote to the governor of Georgia, requesting a suspension of the law where it affected distilleries which were engaged in producing whisky for the army. Governor Brown, however, adopted a sacrosanct attitude toward Georgia laws and all things Georgian—thus began one phase of the conflict which went on eternally between the state of Georgia and the Confederate States government.

Shortly after assuming command of the Army of Tennessee at Dalton, Georgia, on December 27, 1863, General Joseph E. Johnston decided to make up for the existing deficiencies in the meat ration by a regular issue of whisky. He called upon Major J. F. Cummings, the district chief of commissary at Atlanta, to prepare for the increased requisitions. At that time, Major Cummings had contracts aggregating an output of only 3000 gallons a month. His contracts had been made on the understanding that the government should furnish the corn and the contractors deliver in return one gallon—in some few contracts, five quarts—of whisky to the bushel of grain supplied. The state, however, required the distillers who were licensed to distill for the general government to deliver every gallon made to the Confederate authorities. When this provision of the law had been brought to the attention of Major Cummings, he modified his contracts so that the distillers, instead of keeping the 'overage' as pay for their work, would deliver it to the commissary agents at the price fixed in the impressment schedules, which was around $3.50 a gallon. It was said that one bushel of corn yielded two and a half gallons and that the commercial rate was then $50 a gallon. If these facts are correct, then the distillers lost about seventy dollars a bushel by the modification of their contracts.

When Major Cummings received the increased requisitions, he applied to Governor Brown for licenses to authorize the contract manufacture of whisky along the line of rail communications in North

Georgia. The existing contracts had all been confined to the southern part of the state, and over twenty miles from rail or water transportation lines. The governor assumed a pose of outraged righteousness, and replied, in part:

> You say the demand for whisky for the army is heavy. I reply, the demand for bread in the army and at home is much greater. One thing is very certain, there is not corn enough in the country to furnish the people and the army with rations of bread and whisky. One or the other must be dispensed with, and in my judgment no man connected with the army, unless he is a toper, or expects to make money out of the distillation, can hesitate to decide in favor of bread. If the question is left to the decision of a soldier who is a man, whether he shall have his drink of whisky in camp or his wife and children shall have bread at home, there will be no hesitation. He will decide in favor of bread.

What the governor had to say was good enough so far as it went; but it took no account of certain other factors. The government was possessed of large stocks of corn received as tax in kind. Much of the "tithe corn" had been paid, not in the corn of the season, but in the previous year's crop, and was too full of weevils to be used for breadstuffs or stock feed. Thousands of bushels were fit only for making whisky and it was solely this damaged grain that the commissary department proposed to use. Furthermore, hogs and cattle were regularly raised on the swill from the mash. So the distillation of whisky, under those circumstances, constituted no real curtailment in foodstuffs but provided a really substantial gain. Although these facts were known to the governor, he clung strictly to the letter of the law.

Major Cummings was disgusted with the governor's willingness to subordinate "the best interests and success of the Confederacy" to his own "self-conceived notions of justice and patriotism". In a confidential letter to the commissary general at Richmond, on February 13, 1864, he marked the Georgians down pretty low. He told how the governor had persuaded President Davis to declare certain counties in North Georgia 'impracticable', that is, unable to furnish their quota of the tax in kind without distressing the inhabitants. The commissary officers had then been authorized to pay the market price for supplies required in those counties, which, incidentally, included Governor Brown's home section. No sooner had this been done than "the patriotic citizens of these counties" astonished the major with "their hidden treasures" which they offered for sale.

Although the subsistence department regarded Georgia and Alabama as the only states where grain existed in sufficient quantity to justify its use for whisky, the surgeon-general of the army made the contracts for supplying his department in Virginia.

Virginia was one of the last states to enter the prohibition ranks. It was not until March 12, 1863, that the legislature declared it to be a penal offense for any person, within the confines of the state, "to make or cause to be made any whisky or other spirituous or malt liquors out of any corn, wheat, rye, or other grain". The contractors avoided the consequences of this law on the ground of their federal connections; but, the following fall, the legislature passed another law on prohibition. This act, dated October 31, 1863, prohibited under severe penalties the fulfillment of any contract, present or future, with the Confederate government for the manufacture of ardent spirits.

This was a direct slap in the face of the government. The secretary of war promptly asked the attorney-general for an opinion on the validity of the state enactment. The latter replied "that a state has not the power to forbid the fulfillment of a contract which the Confederate Government has the authority to make, and that, therefore, the act of the 12th of March does not apply to such a contractor, and the act of the 31st of October, expressly forbidding the fulfillment of such a contract, is a nullity".

In reaching this conclusion, the attorney-general rehearsed the fundamentals involved in the division of powers between the state and Confederate governments. For the execution of these powers, he said, any men and means might be used which were not expressedly nor impliedly prohibited by the principles of our public law. No one dared urge that the Confederate government did not have the right, under the powers to declare war and support armies, to use any means known for the procurement of gunpowder. The same rule was true in regard to provisions, medicines, and other army supplies. "Spirituous liquors being amongst the supplies required for the army", concluded the attorney-general, "my opinion is that persons who manufacture whisky in Virginia exclusively for the Confederate Government under a contract with it are not liable to the penalties of the State statutes."

In the following spring a much stronger case was presented to the Department of Justice. It was that of the government itself, not a contractor, manufacturing necessary supplies by its own agents and exclusively for its own use. The Navy Department had begun the erection of a distillery in South Carolina for the purpose of manufacturing whisky for the sole use of the navy. State officers, by order of the governor, had halted the construction work on the ground that the laws of South Carolina prohibited the establishment of distilleries. The advice of the attorney-general was to the same effect as before.

The differences with the South Carolina authorities were soon patched up, and the medical department of the army also established a distillery in South Carolina, at Columbia. The surgeon-general had already established a government distillery at Salisbury, North Carolina. These plants turned out from 200 to 500 gallons a day. Under an act of Congress of June 14, 1864, the surgeon-general began the erection of distilleries in Wilcox County, Alabama, at Macon, Georgia, and at Buchanan, in Botetourt County, Virginia. The Virginia still was ready for operation when the county sheriff, under an attachment of the circuit court, seized the distillery and the government's stock of grain, and instituted criminal proceedings against the army officer in charge of the plant.

The secretary of war laid this new complication before the attorney-general, who, feeling that he could add little to the preceding opinions, sent copies of them to the War Department with a short letter. In the latter, though he advised the submission of the matter to the state courts for their decision, he nevertheless almost suggested that a conflict of force with the state authorities would be justified in an extreme emergency. The Confederate government could ill afford to use force to oppose the civil processes of a state. But the Virginians were unyielding, and an *impasse* was reached. The distillery was abandoned by the army and was not even mentioned by the surgeon-general in a later report to the War Department regarding the resources available for carrying on the business of his bureau.

There is, however, one instance in which a state and the army worked hand in hand on the prohibition question. It was in Mississippi. There was no statute in the criminal law under which the state authorities could suppress the stills, yet the governor felt that the diversion of grain was an evil and ought to be stopped. He adopted a unique procedure. The law authorized him to impress any property in the state in order to fill the requisitions of the Confederate military authorities. Accordingly, he wrote to Lieutenant General Pemberton, commanding the department of Mississippi and East Louisiana, and asked him to make a requisition for corn. He told the general that he would impress every bushel of corn in the distilleries, and that if this did not stop the business, he would ask the general to requisition copper for the manufacture of cannon and would then impress the boilers and coils. General Pemberton replied that he needed corn and would be glad to have the corn taken from two distilleries which were then operating in Marshall County.

In view of the frequent clashes between the governor of North

Carolina and the Confederate government on almost every subject, one is surprised to find very few and innocuous passages on the subject of prohibition. However, Governor Vance felt very strongly on the conservation of food supplies, and, in his message to the assembly in November, 1862, he recommended a tightening of the existing prohibition against the distillation of spirits from grain. "There is no grain to spare for such purposes", he said, "and all the medical needs of the country and Army can be abundantly supplied by liquors made from the fruit crops. Should even the supply for the Army fail, it cannot be doubted that it is much better for the soldier to go without spirits than that his wife and child should go without bread."

In the matter of distilling fruits, we find the governor of Virginia, in his annual message to the general assembly in December, 1864, lamenting that the prohibition laws, which so perfectly protected the grain crop, did not also extend to fruit. "The recent crop of apples", he said, "was the most abundant we have had for many years, and would have furnished a large amount of healthy succulents and an ample supply of vinegar, so essential as an anti-scorbutic for our soldiers. But a frenzy seems to have seized upon the people for converting this fine crop into brandy, which in its effects upon our Army is most pernicious. I earnestly recommend that the law may be enlarged so as to comprehend an inhibition of the distillation of all fruit."

This frenzy for making brandy is reflected in the liquor prices allowed by the commissioners of impressment in Virginia during the winter of 1865. The schedules fixed whisky at $25 a gallon but apple brandy at $15 and vinegar at only $5.00 a gallon. At this time the government price of wheat was $25 a bushel, corn and rye $20, and dried apples $15 a bushel. Brown sugar was $5.00 a pound and molasses $15 a gallon.

The Confederate government had as much trouble in controlling the liquor manufactured under the contracts of the several bureaus as the United States has had in recent years in preventing leakages from the licensed distilleries and bonded warehouses. The only legitimately operated stills, in practically all the states, were those run under contract with the War or Navy departments. The temptation to commit fraud was great, for the market price of whisky usually ranged from fifteen to twenty times the contract rates. Many of the contractors took advantage of their licenses to manufacture an excess over the quantity called for in their contracts, and this they sold to private parties. Often their product was "so indifferent and spurious an article" that the inspecting officers were obliged to reject it. The

rejected whisky was never hard to bootleg. In fact, this was the profitable way to operate a contract still. In order to overcome these evils, the government, as we have seen, undertook during the last two years of the war to establish its own distilleries and abolish the contract supply. Nevertheless, domestic whiskies continued on the market along with the unprohibited fruit wines and distillates. And, generally speaking, every kind of drink, foreign and domestic, could be secured.

Yorktown. WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

THE THIRD ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS, LONDON, JULY 13-18, 1931 [1]

IN nearly all fields of learning the number and variety of international congresses have greatly increased since the war, but in no field has the increase been more marked than in history. In addition to the long-standing quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences, we now have numerous congresses devoted to special subjects, such as the history of science, the history of literature, Byzantine history, the history of religion, and the history of art, and also congresses of general scope that bring together scholars of different countries possessed of the same or of closely related languages. Examples of these are the Historikertag of the Germans and Austrians, the annual meeting of French and Belgian historians, the Scandinavian congresses, the congresses of the historians of Eastern Europe, and, finally, the Anglo-American conference. One can not help wondering whether all these manifestations are rich enough in results to warrant the expenditure of time and effort and money that they demand, or to justify their momentary diversion of scholarship from its usual pursuits. But perhaps it is fairer to see in them encouraging signs of a growing sense of interdependence and of an increasing appreciation of the value of the personal exchange of ideas. There can be little doubt that all this activity is both natural and salutary in the present state of the world's affairs, and if, in the course of events, it should become excessive and burdensome, the corrective will be promptly applied through the abstention of those for whose benefit it is designed.

Among the various congresses and gatherings, the Anglo-American Conference of Historians is distinguished by the simplicity of its organization, its unpretentious character, its practical value, and the

[1] For accounts of the first and second conferences, see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 58-63; XXXII. 56-61. A full report of the third conference will be published in the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

wholesome pleasure which its participants derive from it. That it is warmly appreciated by American scholars is evidenced by the increase in their attendance since the inauguration of the series in 1921. The historical scholarship of the English speaking world is under no small obligation to the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London, and particularly to its director, Professor A. F. Pollard, under whose auspices and inspiration these meetings have been organized.

The conference of July, 1931, was the third of the quinquennial series held in London, but in 1924 the American Historical Association, desirous of expressing its appreciation of the hospitality that its members had enjoyed upon the occasion of the first conference in 1921, invited a number of British scholars to take part in the annual meeting of the Association at Richmond, and so that meeting became, in a sense, a modified version of the conference. It is to be hoped that it may be possible in the not too distant future to repeat the Richmond experiment or even perhaps to organize on this side of the Atlantic a full-fledged conference which might be the fourth of the quinquennial series.

The third conference was marked by a larger and more representative attendance than either of its predecessors enjoyed. Of the four hundred who registered (the actual attendance was unquestionably much larger), ninety or more were from the United States, and represented a substantial proportion of the forty-four institutions and organizations in this country that had formally appointed delegates. The British attendance was representative of nearly all parts of the empire.

The conference met in four general and fifteen sectional sessions, in addition to which there were six sectional dinners. Following the admirable practice of previous years, each session was ordinarily devoted to one or two papers, which were followed by general and often prolonged and animated discussion. The seven sections were respectively concerned with Medieval history, Modern European history, Modern English history, British colonial history, Economic history, British local history, and Slavonic history. If surprise be felt at the absence of a section on American history, it must be confessed that the organizers of the conference made strenuous efforts to arrange one, but the response from American students of American history was so slight that at the last moment it seemed best to abandon the attempt. While American history is undoubtedly regarded with growing curiosity and interest, and even with respect, in other countries, it is not yet seriously studied by a sufficient number of students to supply adequate subject

matter or audiences for separate sections in international congresses. Fortunately it seems likely that this situation may be improved. The recent establishment in the University of London and in the Collège de France of chairs of American history, as well as the vigorous preaching of such scholars as Professor C. K. Webster, are certain to bear interesting fruits in due time.

The first general session was of a formal sort and was honored by the presence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who welcomed the members of the conference in the name of the Government, and spoke especially of the relations of the politician and the historian. The politicians, he pointed out, are the pioneers, making a road through an unsurveyed country, over which later the historians would ride at their ease and criticize the road-makers. He made an especial plea for justice on the part of historians toward politicians, and particularly urged that the acts and policies of the latter should be judged in the light of the times in which they had lived. He mentioned that it had remained for American historians to present the history of British policy toward the American colonies in its true light, and to free it from the Whig bias which had characterized British writings on the subject. Short addresses in the form of motions of a vote of thanks to the Prime Minister were made by Professor James T. Shotwell and Sir Richard Lodge.

The second general session was devoted to a discussion of the report of the Continuation Committee, which dealt with such matters as the migrations of historical manuscripts, the difficulty of obtaining in Great Britain historical works published in the United States (under which head it appears that American authors of historical works have a just grievance against many American publishers), the guide to the historical publications of the societies of England and Wales, and the proposed reproduction of the *Statutes of the Realm*.

The third and fourth general sessions were devoted each to a single subject. At the third session Professor Morris Ginsberg, of the London School of Economics, read a thoughtful paper on The Relation between History and Sociology, in which he concluded that both disciplines seek to attain the same sort of knowledge but that the difference between them is one of emphasis, the primary interest of sociology being in the discovery of general laws, while that of history is in the reconstruction of the way in which events have occurred. He pointed out that on the one hand sociology fails to make adequate use of the vast stores of historical knowledge that are available, as well as of the scientific technique

elaborated by modern historians, while on the other hand the historian fails to supply the sociologist with much of the material that he needs. Would it not be possible, he asked, for historians and sociologists together to formulate a series of queries and suggestions that would enable them to deal more effectively than at present with their mutual and respective problems? Unfortunately most of those who took part in the discussion rather missed the principal point of Professor Ginsberg's paper, and their remarks threw little light on the practical question of coöperation between historians and sociologists.

The last general session was concerned with the "new biography", which the principal speaker, Mr. Philip Guedalla, defined, in the absence of its friends, in terms which enabled him to demolish it effectively and wittily and to the satisfaction of those present. It must be confessed that the long discussion that followed failed to throw much new light upon biography as a branch of historical research. A suggestion was thrown out, based upon the experience of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* that scholars in other fields of learning and science than that of history have legitimate questions to ask of biography, and that the biographer-historian may well consider their needs as well as the demands of his fellow craftsmen and of the general public, but this observation was either too frivolous or too radical to evoke any response.

Of the sectional sessions, those on Medieval history, presided over by Professor James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, were the most largely attended. Papers by Professors E. F. Jacob (Manchester) and A. S. Turberville (Leeds) discussed the Changing Views of the Renaissance. Professor Jacob described what he termed the "romantic" and "revolutionary" tendencies of that movement, while Professor Turberville emphasized its medieval origins. Professor F. M. Powicke (Oxford) discussed recent trends of medieval studies which he considered to consist in a new emphasis upon the texts and especially upon their significance from the point of view of general history, and in the effort to serve and to profit by the conception of the unity of history and of human experience. Professor Carl Stephenson (Cornell) insisted upon the importance of the topographical study of urban development, his views being formulated by the section in a resolution that urged coöperation between historians, geographers, and archæologists in the study of local history.

The section on Economic history devoted one of its sessions to a medieval subject, Was the Manor a Myth? Professors Elizabeth Levett

(London) and D. C. Douglas (Glasgow) pointed out that the differences between manors were so great and so numerous that the modern historian challenges the very existence of a classical and typical organization. In another session, Sir William Beveridge, director of the London School of Economics, described the study of the history of prices and wages that he is directing, and exhibited several tables and graphs. The discovery of new material had, he stated, exceeded all expectations, and he hopes soon to be able to compute the index number of prices in England for each year from 1200 to the present time. Mr. Ralph M. Hower (Harvard) presented an instructive account of research in the field of business history now being carried on at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and made so excellent and convincing a statement of the importance of business history as to inspire half a column of editorial comment in *The Times* (July 17). At the same session Dr. G. B. Harrison (London) described, with numerous illustrations, the various processes of making facsimile reprints (photostat, type, "replika" [planograph or offset], and collotype) and concluded that for legibility the type facsimile is best, for accuracy the collotype, but for general scholarly purposes the "replika" is the most advantageous. The process employed by the Library of Congress on so large a scale—microphotography on a roll of film—was not, however, mentioned.

In the section on Modern European history, Sir Richard Lodge discussed the Continental policy of Great Britain from 1740 to 1763, describing the two conflicting tendencies—the Whig tradition of active intervention in Europe in opposition to France, and the Tory opposition to standing armies and Continental wars and reliance for defense upon the "wooden walls" of the navy. In the same section Dr. G. P. Gooch reviewed the Bülow era, 1897-1909, during which the political and diplomatic position of Germany was seriously weakened.

The section on Modern English history, presided over by Professor George M. Trevelyan (Cambridge) discussed English naval and military history in the eighteenth century. Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond insisted upon the importance of studying the economic element in higher strategy, especially the selection and use of economic weapons, the effectiveness of which, however, as Sir Charles Oman (Oxford) pointed out, depended upon the morale of the country against which they were directed. Mrs. William E. Lingelbach referred to the conscientious studies of the late Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, to whose work Professor Trevelyan also paid a tribute. In another meeting of

the section Professor G. S. Veitch (Liverpool), Colonel Josiah C. Wedgewood, of the House of Commons, and Mr. L. B. Namier described work on the electoral history of Parliament, now progressing under the direction of a committee of which Colonel Wedgewood is chairman.

The sessions on British local history were chiefly devoted to the problems of collecting and preserving local and county records, in which Miss Joan Wake (Northamptonshire) and Dr. G. H. Fowler (Bedfordshire) are so actively and successfully engaged. The section adopted a resolution looking to the permanent coördination of the activities of the British Record Society and of the numerous local record societies.

The section on British colonial history, presided over by Dr. Henry P. Biggar, of the Canadian Archives, held three sessions at which papers were presented by Professor Eva G. R. Taylor (London), on Empire Building Projects in the Pacific in the 17th Century, by Miss Irene Wright (Seville), on Materials for British Colonial History in the Archives of Spain, by Professor Duncan McArthur (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), on The Origins of Canadian Nationalism, and by Professor Frank W. Pitman (Pomona College), on Social Reconstruction in Jamaica subsequent to Emancipation.

Finally must be noted the sessions on Slavonic history, presided over by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson (London), at which two subjects received consideration. Russia, Serbia, and the Responsibility for the World War in the Light of Recent Documentary Evidence, was discussed by Dr. M. T. Florinsky (Columbia), Dr. A. F. Meyendorff (London), Sir Raymond Beazley, Sir Bernard Pares, the chairman, and others, with two net results, namely, a sense of the futility of endeavoring to assign degrees of blame (like examination grades) to the various countries, and a recognition of the fact that our knowledge has not advanced in any striking way since the publication of the volumes by Professors Fay and Schmitt. The other subject considered by this section was The Principle of Nationality and its Influence on the Western Slavs.

It remains to say a word of the extraordinarily cordial, abundant, and varied hospitality, which included luncheons at the London School of Economics and at King's College, teas and receptions at the Royal Historical Society, Lambeth Palace, University College, the Inner and Middle Temples, the House of Commons, the University of London, Vintners' Hall, Staple Inn, Bedford College, and St. John's (of Jerusalem) Church and Gate. Members of the conference were also the

guests of the Port of London Authority on an excursion down the Thames to Tilbury, and of the British Museum for the viewing of a special exhibit. The last day of the conference was devoted to excursions to Canterbury, Hampton Court, and to Northampton and Sulgrave Manor, where generous hospitality was extended by the mayors of Canterbury and Northampton, by the Kingston-upon-Thames Rotary Club, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, and by Earl Spencer, who received a group at Althorp.

It is impossible to enumerate all to whom the conference is indebted for its most successful planning and execution. Professor Pollard has already been mentioned, but it should be noted that although he now retires as professor in University College, he retains an honorary (and doubtless active) directorship of the Institute of Historical Research for some time longer, for which all are thankful who appreciate the magnitude of the services that he has rendered to the advancement of historical studies among English speaking scholars. Mr. Guy F. Parsloe, secretary of the Institute, who has been the *cheville ouvrière* of this conference, as he was of its predecessor, has placed all members under heavy obligations to him, and it is not easy to speak adequately of his services. To all the other members of the organizing committee, as well as to the chairmen and secretaries of the various sections, great merit and sincere gratitude are due. In closing, let us not fail to recall one whose presence was sorely missed, but whose serene spirit and wise inspiration remain with his students and colleagues, the late Professor Thomas F. Tout.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington. WALDO G. LELAND.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of a Journey to the Westward

THE author of this journal, Silas Chesebrough, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, on November 19, 1796, the youngest of eight children. His father, William Chesebrough, was a direct descendant of another William Chesebrough who came over with John Winthrop and, after playing a prominent part in the early history of Boston, finally settled at the head of Wequetequock Cove, gathered about him a number of settlers of like mind, and founded the town of Stonington.[1] His mother, Esther Williams, was a descendant of John Howland, one of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims.[2]

Family tradition has it that the primary purpose of his "journey to the westward" was to gain first-hand information about the Ohio country as a possible home. He did not, however, remove from Stonington until 1834; and then he settled near Syracuse, New York, where he died in 1845.[3]

The journal was not intended for publication and makes no pretensions to literary style. It is a plain, matter-of-fact record of the author's experiences from day to day, with such comment on economic and social conditions as might aid him in fixing upon a place of settlement.[4] His observations upon the fundamental conditions for successful agriculture—soil, climate, water supply, and transportation facilities—are detailed and fairly accurate. If, in commenting upon social conditions, he sometimes fails to make allowances for the unavoidable crudities of a frontier community, he may, perhaps, be pardoned in view of his youth and inexperience.[5]

[1] R. A. Wheeler, *History of the Town of Stonington*, pp. 1–5. Genealogy of the Chesebrough family, *ibid.*, pp. 292–309(304).

[2] Genealogies of the Joseph Williams and Denison families, *ibid.*, pp. 662–682(670), 334–361(340).

[3] Information supplied by the editor's wife, a granddaughter of the author, and by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas U. Chesebrough.

[4] The author tells us that it was his custom to write up his journal every evening. See entry for Sept. 29. It can not, therefore, fairly be compared with some so-called journals, which were written from notes and revised for publication.

[5] In this respect he does better than his fellow New Englanders, Margaret Dwight and T. M. Harris; but not so well as the English traveler, Fortescue Cuming, or the Scotch economist, James Flint. See Margaret Van Horn Dwight, *A Journey to the Ohio in 1810* (New Haven, 1912); Thaddeus Mason Harris, *The Journal of a Tour*

The original manuscript is now the property of Mr. T. U. Chesebrough, of Pittsburgh. Lack of space has necessitated the omission of entries and parts of entries which contained nothing of general interest. The author's grammatical construction, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been preserved except in instances where the retention of the original would have obscured the writer's meaning.

The University of Wisconsin. PETER S. MCGUIRE.

Monday, Sept. 8, 1817.

Pleasant Day. Departed from home about 8 oclock in the morning. Called at Chas. Wheelers then at Cyrus Swans, where Oliver Wheeler joined in company with me. From thence we drove to Norwich. Warm and dusty. Horses sweat very much. Called at Keeneys, bated our horses, and bot a brace of brass barrel Pistols of Chas. P. Huntington, c 9.50¢. From thence we drove to Lebanon upper meeting House. Much better Road than we had in the morning, but very dry and dusty. Received entertainment at Roger Balys. Warm and pleasant. So ends the day after passing thro N. Stonington, Groton, Preston, Norwich, Franklin, and part of Lebanon, about 24 Miles.

Tuesday, Sept. 9.

Pleasant day. Passed this day thro Columbia, Coventry, Bolton, . . . East Hartford and the sun about an hour high passed over Hartford bridge into Hartford City. Called at the loan office and there understood the three per cent stocks of Mrs. Moss,[6] (Notes) will remain as they are until Congress order them paid. One kind of the six per cent stock will be all paid up next spring.[7] . . . 26 miles.

Wednesday, Sept. 10.

[Hartford to Harrington, 22 miles.]

into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains . . . 1803, reprinted in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* III.; Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, 1807–1809,* Thwaites, IV.; James Flint, *Letters from America* (1818), Thwaites, IV.

[6] Mrs. Moss was a widowed sister of the author. Her husband had been a soldier in the Revolution. Genealogies of Chesebrough and Moss families, Wheeler, pp. 304, 482–483.

[7] Three per cent. stock to the amount of $19,719,237.39 was issued under the act of August 4, 1790, providing for the funding of the domestic debt. W. F. DeKnight, *History of the Currency of the Country,* p. 33. A statement of the funded debt on Oct. 1, 1818, showed three per cent. stock to the amount of $13,454,575.68 still outstanding. Report of the Register of the Treasury Department, *American State Papers, Finance,* III. 278. Treasury notes bearing interest at five and two-fifths per cent. were issued during the War of 1812 under a series of five acts, beginning with that of June 30, 1812. The fact that those of large denomination ($100 or more) were by the fifth act, approved Feb. 24, 1815, made fundable in six per cent. stock, would undoubtedly lead the uninitiated to use the terms "notes" and "stocks" interchangeably. J. J. Knox, *United States Notes,* pp. 21–34.

Thursday, Sept. 11.

Clear day and warm. Drove from Harrington to Litchfield. About the Court house is a handsome settlement, the land is very uneven but some of it very good. After passing Litchfield, and thro Washington the land is more level, better road, not so hilly. . . . Bated our horses at New Preston Society where there was a training at the stone house tavern.[8] Traveled in Co. with 2 young men in a wagon from Colchester, bound for Ohio. They being lighter loaded than we were, left us at the stone tavern, N. Preston, and traveled on towards Bulls Bridge. We put up for the night at Newton's tavern, Stone House. . . . Traveled this Day about 20 miles.

Friday, Sept. 12.

. . . Passed over the Housatoneck about 9 oclock, turned around the south corner of Catacook mountain and passed out of the land of Steady Habits into the state of N. York. . . . After ascending Dover mountain or Fishkill mountain we descended gradually toward the North River— a very pleasant road— . . . . We shall lodge this night at Beekman. 23 miles.

Saturday, Sept. 13.

. . . Started from Doughty's tavern town of Beekman about sunrise. Drove from thence thro. Fishkill to Fishkill Landing which is 17 miles. Crossed the North River about 10 oclock in the Horse Boat. The wind blew quite fresh. There was in the boat 1 ox team with goods and a family bound for Ohio, and six waggons. Crossed the ferry in 12 minutes which is 1½ miles over, in perfect safety. The boat was propelled by a wheel in the center of the boat, turned by 7 good horses.[9] On the west bank landed at Newburg. From the top of Dover mountain to Fishkill landing the land descends gradually to the River. Some part of it is excellent, for miles equal say to togwonk.[10] Here a gentleman traveling to Fishkill told me that many farms would sell together for $100 an acre which is not an extraordinary price. Here Cheese is 12½¢. Butter 30¢. The road from the top of Dover mountain to the river which is 23 miles is as good a road as ever I traveled. Our horses were not fatieuged more than ½ as much traveling this distance as they were in ascending Dover mountain which is but about 2 miles.

Newburg is a pleasant village almost as large as New London. Some elegant Houses. My horses breast being very much galded I bot a pair of Hames for 5 Dollars, and traveled on down the River on excellent Road to Windsor where we dined and bated our horses. From Windsor thro. Bloomingrove to Goshen where we lodged. The road from Newburg to Goshen is as good a Road as ever I have traveled, free from stones, very

[8] Citizens of military age in each township were early organized into train-bands, and their meetings for drill were known as trainings. G. L. Clark, *A History of Connecticut*, pp. 56, 71–72.

[9] Horse boats, or team boats, appear to have been invented in an effort to avoid the payment of license fees for the use of steam vessels under the monopoly granted to Fulton and Livingston over the navigable waters of New York state. J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 402–404.

[10] Togwonk, or Taugwank, is a district on the east side of Wequetequock Cove, comprising the best land in Stonington township. Letter of Elias B. Hinckley, town and probate clerk of Stonington, to the editor, Aug. 25, 1930.

smooth, the land in some of it good, rather hilly, not to say mountainous. . . . 40 miles. As far as we have traveled yet Rye is universally one Dollar per bushel. . . .

Sept. 14.

. . . Traveled in Co. with 7 waggons with families from New Millford and Litchfield, bound for the Ohio and Indiana Territory. They appeared in good spirits, travelling for a better Country. We passed them and drove on out of the State into Vernon in N. Jersey where we found a bad road. Called at Vandergriffs Hotel and dined and bated our horses. The land thro here is mountainous, in general not of the best quality. They abound in Peaches and apples and by the appearance have had plumbs and cherries in abundance. . . .

The land generally thro New Jersey is free from stones but quite uneven, some good land and much indifferent land. A part of this state is mountainous, where I have traveled. The Inhabitants this Evening were very uncivil and very unaccommodating as to entertaining us. . . . [Goshen to Whittiker's tavern, Newton, 30 miles.]

Monday, Sept. 15.

Rainy Day and has rained all Night before. In consequence of this heavy rain we have not moved from Whittikers but shall tarry with him another night. In conversation with the Landlord the evening we arrived here I learned that he was a Justice of the Peace for Sussex county, and expected a Court at his House the next day. In the afternoon of the next day the parties appeared. The Court was opened. One cause was concerning rents of a Tavern House, and another, a large book account. The causes were of larger magnitude than our Justice can try. The cases were something difficult and the Judge did not give in his Judgment. Altho his powers were larger he did not preside with the dignity of an intelligent Connecticut Justice.

I asked the Esqr. if it was to be a single Justice Court. There was another Yankey that appeared some acquainted at the house which made answer that he expected it would be a Esqrs. Court if it was not a court of Justice. The next day after Court was adjourned the Esqr. smilingly observed to me that he was sorry we could not have an opportunity to judge whether this was a Court of Justice or only a Esqrs. Court.[11] The Justice made a number of enquireys concerning the Courts in the State of Connecticut.

Tuesday, Sept. 16.

. . . Traveled to Sussex court House, 5 miles. . . . Oliver broke one of his axletrees and lost a horse shoe. He begins to be rather down and a little sick of Ohio.

[11] The office of justice of the peace in Connecticut dates from 1669, when an act was passed to empower an assistant or commissioner (later called justice of the peace) with the selectmen, to hear and determine cases in which less than forty shillings was at stake, with the right of appeal to the county court. *Cf.* Clark, p. 87. In 1699, courts presided over by a single justice were established. These were known as prerogative courts and their jurisdiction was at first limited to the settlement of estates. *Cf.* Elizabeth M. Caulkins, *History of New London*, p. 253. Evidently these "prerogative courts" lived up to the name. Hence, the distinction between a court of justice and a single justice, or esquire's court, meant something to our author; and his host appears to have appreciated the joke.

The soil thro Sussex County is light hilly. I have seen no good land this day. The principal grain appears to be buck wheat, yet they have some Rye and Wheat and a little Indian Corn.

The Houses in general are quite mean. More than one half of them are built of logs, yet they have large Barns universally thatched with straw, and very large stacks of grain with Roofs thatched with straw. The Inhabitants in this north part of the State are unpolished and uncivil. They are in fact a Rough Sett in general.

I traveled on about one mile from Johnsonsburg Hardwick or the Log Gaol where we stopped for Oliver Wheeler to get a new axletree.[12]

Mr. Harris, the man that is mending Oliver's waggon, tells us that Cheese will sell for 15¢ and that they raise here a considerable proportion of wheat which is marketed at Easton on the Delaware. The land here is full of Slate stone, and gravelly.

After Oliver had his waggon mended we traveled on to Hope, 5 miles. The Houses were principally built of stone in the old Moravian style. At Hope is a stone Meeting House built by the Moravians, has been a nunery, now occupied as a dwelling house and store.

. . . In Hope there is a Woolen Factory built of Stone, rather on the decline. Hope has from 10 to 15 Houses built principally of Stone. . . . We have this day traveled 28 miles and stopped from 2 to 5 oclock mending Oliver's waggon.

Wednesday, Sept. 17.

Clear serene morning Pursued our journey from B. T. Hunts, Bridgevill to Easton, 14 miles. The land this morning is much better where we travel than it was yesterday. As the westward traveller arrives at the banks of Phillipsville,[13] his ravished Eye is at once struck with the pleasing appearance of Easton on the western shore, and the beautiful waters of the Delaware rolling majestically between. We drove on and passed the bridge which is about 50 rods over, boarded up and painted on the sides, with a good roof. I think it resembles a market more than a bridge. The toll for a waggon and 1 horse is 25¢. I am now in Pennsylvania at Easton.

In passing thro all New Jersey I have not seen so much as one yoke of oxen yoked for work, but the Jerseymen work Horses for everything.

In the afternoon drove out to Bethlehem, 12 miles. The land on this side the Delaware is very level and the soil very rich indeed, of a red colour resembling our red loam. The buildings are much better being built principally of stone and brick.

In the village is a large stone meeting House and a large and Elegant stone Seminary for Young Ladies. The land about this village is any of it equal to togwonk. Oliver has in addition to his other losses, this afternoon lost his oat bag. He feels very low in spirits. I sometimes laugh at him, and sometimes try to comfort him.

From Bethlehem we drove out to Lehigh Bridge, 5 miles, within 1 mile of Allenstown. The keeper of the bridge tells me it cost 21,000 Dolls.

[12] Johnsonburg is a village in Freylinghuysen township, Warren County, New Jersey. In 1817, it was in Hardwick township; hence, the confusion of names.

[13] He meant, of course, the banks of the Delaware at Phillipsville (now Phillipsburg) opposite Easton.

It is supported by king posts resting on stone pillars, and very large Iron chains leading from them to the plates.

The Inhabitants on the west of the Delaware are all Dutch, so far.[14]

We have this Day traveled 31 miles.

Thursday, Sept. 18.

Clear serene morning, but in the night we had a shower. Fell in Co. with 4 young men in a waggon from New Jersey travelling to Cincinnati. We shall probably travel with them some days. Passed this morning thro Allentown which is a pleasant village nearly as large as Bethlehem. The Houses are built of Stone and brick and the most of them elegant. A stone Court House and a very strong stone gail, also a very large stone Meeting House built in 1814. The land is similar to that we have passed, free from stones and very level. Their stone houses are built from quarries of a slate kind. I have this day passed some of the largest Stone Barns I ever saw. If they were dwelling houses they would be called with us elegant. I asked a Dutchman what his barn cost. He answered, two thousand Dollars. I observed to him that I thought they were extravagant, he answered, Me has materyl nuf, and money nuf. Now me got best Barn in Kutztown.[15]

From Allenstown we passed on thro a good tract of land, level road, limey water, and Stone Houses and Barns. Dutch Inhabitants, to Kutztown, 18 miles. Kutztown is a pleasant village about as large as Stonington point. The Houses are here some built of wood and some of stone. Here we stopped and dined and bated our horses.

From Kutztown we traveled thro a level country and good land, 15 miles to within 2½ miles of Reding. The Inhabitants are all Dutch. In travelling from the Delaware to the Scuylkill I saw no huckleberry nor any other under brush in the woods, but they are perfectly clean with no stones. The road in the Spring of the year must be very muddy, for it is all red loam.

We have this Day traveled 34 miles.

Friday, Sept. 19.

This morning was a little foggy but soon cleared off pleasant. Drove to Reding, 2½ miles. Reding is a handsome well built town nearly as large as N. London. It lies on the East bank of the Scuylkill. Here they have a large meeting House and a good market. The buildings are all stone and brick. Passed over Scuylkill bridge built nearly in the same form as the one over the Delaware.

From Reding we drove to Womelsdoff, 14 miles. Here I dined and bated our horses. This place is about as large as Milltown. From Womelsdoff we drove to Lebanon, 14 miles, in Lebanon County. From Womelsdoff to Lebanon we passed thro the Village of Myerstown, about as large as Womelsdoff. . . . This place [Lebanon] is nearly as large as N. London. A new and elegant brick Court house is building, as good

[14] The common term for Pennsylvania Germans. Miss Dwight called the people of Bethlehem, "high dutch". See pp. 16–20 of her journal, for an interesting description of that town and its people from the viewpoint of a "highbrow" New Englander.

[15] The passion of the people of this region for large barns is a matter of common observation. Dwight, p. 21; Thwaites, IX. 67; J. T. Faris, *Old Trails and Roads in Penn's Land*, pp. 67–71.

perhaps as any in the state, a decent place for public worship, etc.. The buildings are universally brick and stone, built in a handsome manner. One eighth of an acre for a building spot will sell for two thousand dollars. Here we put up for the night.

The land this day has been similar to what we have passed, not entirely level but gradually rising and falling, not hilly. The road this day has been bad; we have been turned out of it by the new turnpike to get along as we can. This turnpike is built of stones pounded fine and laid in the road about a foot thick. Then they are to be covered lightly with dirt. It extends from Reding 50 or 60 miles.[16]

We have this day traveled 30 miles.

This afternoon passed a Company of wandering pilgrims. In conversing with one of them a few words, I understood they were from the upper part of Vermont and the lower part of Canady, 10 in number, travelling on by faith to Ohio, and perhaps farther. Their dress is something like the Quakers, with straw hats or caps, both men and women, and a black bandage around the waist. They have a cart, 1 yoke of oxen and a horse before, move very slowly, about 15 miles a day. One of them said he was following the example of the Prophets and apostles. They excite some inquiry for them among the people.[17]

Saturday, Sept. 20.

. . . We have passed a man with a waggon and family, whose wife is the daughter of Amasa Patterson. They are from the north west part of Connecticut bound for Cincinnati. . . . [Arrived at Harrisburg in the evening.] Harrisburg is a very pleasant town with many Elegant Brick buildings 4 and 5 stories high, lying on the East bank of the Susquehannah. The town is something larger than N. London, and shows the appearance of wealth and prosperity.

We drove thro the town and passed over the Susquehannah, on a bridge which is about a mile long, connected together in about the middle by a small island. This bridge is the best I have yet passed. It is not finished yet, but am told it cost $200,000. . . . 27½ miles.

Sept. 21.

. . . The road from Harrisburg to Carlisle is very level and most of the way good. The land is much the same as we have passed. If it differs any way it is rather more clayey. The water is quite indifferent.

From Carlisle to Shippensburg is 21 miles. We drove this afternoon but 15 miles and put up for the night. (Within 6 miles of Shippensburg.)

Carlisle is some larger than Stonington point. The buildings are all stone and brick except now and then a timber or log house. Here is a large stone Colledge,[18] a stone meeting house, etc. . . .

This afternoon a little westward of Carlisle we passed by a spring that

[16] The Berks and Dauphin Turnpike was begun in 1805 and completed to Lebanon in 1816. Faris, p. 140. The latter date appears to be incorrect, as our author had good reason to know that it was not completed to that place in September, 1817.

[17] These "pilgrims" probably belonged to that strange sect, described by McMaster (IV. 338), most of whom came from Vermont. They called themselves, "Followers of the True Christ".

[18] The "stone Colledge" no doubt was Old West, the first building of Dickinson College. It was completed in 1803 and is still standing. Faris, p. 202.

emitted as much water as should be sufficient for the Milltown Grist mill. The water was something limey.

We have this Day traveled 29 miles.

Monday, Sept. 22.

. . . Drove to Shippensburg, 6 miles. Here I stopped to have my horses shoes sharpened before I go over the mountain, and to have a new axletree put in my waggon as one of mine begins to be a little weak. The road being clayey and its raining last night and this morning makes it very slippery. Some of the road this morning has been very rough and stoney.

While at Shippensburg Oliver Wheeler has again come up with me and the N. Jersey travellers have gone on.

Shippens. is a place of considerable trade, about as large as Stonington point. Here I stayed nearly all day. This day has been all day cloudy, with some rain. Drove out from Shippensburg 1 mile and put up for the night. With my horse sharp shod, and waggon well repaired, tomorrow we expect to encounter the mountains.

Traveled this day but 7 miles.

Tuesday, Sept. 23.

. . . Drove to Strawsburg, 9 miles. . . .

I am now at the foot of the mountains, and in passing thro all Pennsylvania the land is generally very level, the timber is quite small, black oak, white oak, and walnut, principally, but little chestnut, no birch nor maple. The water in some places is very good, in others limey and clayey.

From the Delaware to the mountains the country is first spread over with a heavy bed of lime stone, then a bed of clay, and on this a soil of red loam mixed with some clay. In some places the soil is more clayey than others. With the help of Plaster this soil is very productive for wheat, rye, oats, corn, buckwheat, grass, etc.

Wheat is the staple commodity; in addition to this, meat cattle, for beef.

I have not seen in all Pennsylvania so much as one working Yoke of oxen, except the wandering pilgrims oxen. Their horses perform all the hard labour which is done by our oxen. They are generally full one third larger than ours. A farmers team generally is 5 of those large horses. Their waggons are large and heavy and when the horses are harnissed on them it is in this order, one span on the tongue, another span before them and then a leader. The driver generally rides on the near hind Horse. With this team they commonly cary 40 hund. over any of the mountains.

The Orchards in this state are very flourishing. All appear young, and very many are breaking down under their heavy loads of fruit. The Orchards are from 2 to 3 weeks later than ours. Very few of them are ripe. I very rarely find any new cider.

The God of Nature has wonderfully furnished this state with materials for building. Here in many places, in digging a large cellar they throw out lime stone enough to build the House, and burn the lime on the spot. Or if to build with brick, clay is the whole face of the Country.

This afternoon we ascended and descended one of the Three Brothers[19]

[19] No doubt a local name for the parallel ridges of the Blue Ridge and Tuscarora mountains, which in central Pennsylvania are the eastern ranges of the Appalachian system.

as they are called, being part of the great chain of the Allegany. In descending this Eastern Brother I had the misfortune to upset my waggon which broke the top of it considerably but did but little other dammage. I righted my waggon and adjusted my load in about an hour, feel thankful it was no worse, and drove on to the bottom of this first mountain where I put up for the Night, between the mountains. . . .

We have this day traveled but 12½ miles.

Wednesday, Sept. 24.

. . . There was 7 waggons put up where I did last night. They all had about 40 horses in their teams. 5 of them were loaded with goods bound for Pittsburg. We started in Company with them this morning to go over the other Two Brothers, but soon out drove them. They drive very slowly. We passed over the middle Brother in about 2 hours, and drove into Fanettsburg where we bated, and in the afternoon drove over the other Brother in safety.

There is some danger in passing these rough mountains. They are composed of Clay, and lime and slate stone. The heavy rains and the continued grinding of waggons has in some places cut the road down into the Clay and Stone to the depth of 7 or 8 feet and only wide enough for one waggon, which makes it very difficult if 2 should meet in one of those places. But there is places cut into those banks once in about 30 rods, where waggons can pass with safety. In addition to this the road in some places is very stoney with lime stone, it being impossible to make them much better, for the rain will wash all the loose clay and dirt as soon as it is cut up, down the mountains.[20]

. . . We therefore have traveled this day 12 miles, and here I found the N. Jersey travellers who had left me at Shippensburg. I should have upset my waggon 2 or 3 times this day, had not the side banks prevented it.

. . . I should judge those 3 mountains to be each about ¾ of a mile perpendicular height, and about 2 miles from the bottom to the top as the road runs. They are in fact 3 Sturdy Brothers.

We put up at Harvey in Littley.

Thursday, Sept. 25.

Clear cool morning. Drove to the township of Dublin, where I took breakfast and bated my horse. On this side the mountains the road is more hilly with monstrous deep cart ruts and Clay pits. Drove over Sideling hill as it is called, which is equal in height and roughness to either of the Brothers. The land about these mountains is not of the first quality.

This afternoon we have driven over hills and mountains of poor land that will starve the Inhabitants.

In the course of the day I have upset my waggon three times, but it lodged against the side walls, which are clay and slate stone. The slate and clay in many places is red, which gives the water in the brooks, even the colour of blood.

We have this day traveled 20 miles, and put up at John Websters Inn.

[20] Of these cuts in the road, Flint says: "The first waggoner that gets into the track, blows a horn, to warn others against meeting him in the narrow pass." Thwaites, IX. 71.

Friday, Sept. 26.

. . . This morning I counted 13 large waggons and 5 small ones all put up at the house last night, and about an hundred horses to hawl them.

Drove this morning to Bloody run, as it is called, 9 miles from Websters Inn. This place is called bloody run to commemorate the English and American blood, which was made to run by the Rifles and Tomyhalks of the Indians in the time of Gen. Braddock. An old gentleman told me the Indians killed about 20 men on the very spot where the Village now stands, which is nearly as large as Milltown.[21] (The name of the township is Providence.)

Thirty years since there was but one log house at this place.

From here we drove on a monstrous bad road to Bedford, 8 miles. Bedford is the County town of the same name and is quite a handsome place, with some large stores. The buildings are very compact and about as large as Stonington Point.

From Bedford we drove out on the new Turnpike, 2 miles, and put up for the night.

We have this day traveled on a bad road 19 miles.

There had been a quilting at the Tavern where we put up and the young people Danced until about 11 o'clock. The young Ladies danced as though they had been over exercised by hard labour or something else. Appeared quite rough. Showed some Dutch in their conversation and manners.

Saturday, Sept. 27.

This morning flying clouds. Drove about 3 miles and I broke my axletree in a mud hole, but soon got it mended. Any person thinking to travel thro this rough Country without some trouble will find himself mistaken. We then drove over hills and mountains, in a southern direction having the Allegany mountains in full view, which we expect to pass tomorrow.

About 12 o'clock it began to be showery and continued so the afternoon which made the road as slippery as Ice and something difficult for a person to walk on foot. The whole face of the land is clay and soft slate stone, and very uneven. The road is full of Clay pits which will take a waggon down to the hub, and a horse to the belly. These Clay holes cannot be avoided. In many places they run across the road, in others small so that the traveller can drive around them.

The Houses are logs principally, and once in about 2 or 3 miles is a Tavern. Notwithstanding the numerous taverns, the great flock of travellers keep them constantly full.

All the Inhabitants raise to sell is marketed at the Taverns, and yet provision for men and horses is high.

We have this day traveled 15 miles on a very rough road.

Sept. 28.

. . . We pay for oats from 50 to 75¢, meals 37½¢ generally.

About 10 moving waggons put up at the house where we stayed last night, all bound for Ohio and Indiana.

This afternoon drove over the Allegany about 2 miles. This is not

[21] Bloody Run is now Everett. For conflicting views as to the origin of the name, see Thwaites, IV. 60, n. 18; XII. 192, n. 15.

so bad a mountain as many we have passed. On the top of it is a Tavern. From here traveled thro a hilly and clayey road to Somerset, 15 miles. The land around here is a little better. We have this day traveled over the Allegany and thro clay holes, 21 miles. . . .

Monday, Sept. 29.

Last Evening we put up late at Mays Inn, a little out of Somerset. He is a very Corpulent, Savage Dutchman. I called for some supper and he said I should have called as soon as I drove up to the House. I told him if he meant to keep a public house I would call for supper whenever I pleased. But they very soon got us a good supper. After supper I told him I wanted a bed. He said I could not have one for his beds were all full, (which I expect they were.) I then told him he was not fit for a tavern keeper if he could not provide a bed for a traveller, but ought to be complained of to the Court, and have a better man in his room. He then called me a little saucy Yankee. I in return called him a big bellyed nasty Dutchman. However I had to lodge on the floor with the Pittsburg waggoners.

After this I as usual took my Journal into the house to write. He asked me what it was. I at first told him it was none of his business, but then said it was a Journal. He came up to the table where I was writing, and asked me to read a leaf or two. I declined. He then said, cant you read your own writing.

I said, if you will wait untill I write down this leaf I will read you something about your conduct, which you may not like so well.

In the morning we had more difficulty about my bill. He refused to take anything but specie. We had more hard words but he at length took my money. After my bill was paid, he asked me how I rested on the floor. I told him I hoped I rested as well as he did on his feather bed with his guilty conscience. He was at first a little mad, but then patted me on the shoulder, and called me a saucy little yankee, asked me to go along about my business and say no more to him.

We drove to the foot of Laurel Hill, 7 miles, thro mud and over hills. Here we dined and bated, and prepared to go over the mountain which is the terror of all the waggoners.

After dinner we drove up the hill about 2 miles, very stoney and muddy. The hill on the other side descends about 6 miles. In some places where it is not very steep the mud for ½ a mile in some places was about from 12 to 18 inches deep, about as soft as soft clay mortar. The constant travel kept it well mixed. In many places was stones in this mud ½ as large as a barrel. After passing about 2 miles thro this mud we came to the steep hills and dry rocks. I can describe it now no other way than saying this is much the muddyest and stonyest mountain I ever have passed.

. . . there is from 40 to 50 tons hauled on this road, towards Pittsburg every Day.

I am now in a small vally on laurel hill a little more than ½ the way down. Have traveled this day but 14 miles, and the roughest 14 miles I ever have passed yet. The Day through has been pleasant and not so cool as yesterday (no frost). Where this tavern is resembles the place where Capt. Gays saw mill stands, and yet there is about 30 persons which put up here this night.

On the hill we passed a drove of 150 Cattle from Marietta for Philadelphia.[22]

Tuesday, Sept. 30.

This morning is warm and pleasant. I started before sunrise and drove down laurell hill alone, 4 miles. At the bottom bated and took breakfast. Left Oliver and 5 other travelling waggons on the hill.

The road this morning is no better than it was last night. In coming down the hill I upset my waggon against the side banks 4 times but pulled it back without any difficulty. Some of the side banks are above the top of my waggon.

This afternoon passed a drove of Oxen and steers from Marietta (Ohio), of 355 going to Philadelphia.

This afternoon drove over Chesnut Ridge as it is called which is 9 miles over. This hill is not so rough as Laurel hill, altho this is very rough.

Also passed another Drove of Cattle from Ohio, for Philadelphia, of 108 in number.

My horse performs the journey exceeding well. Olivers I think begins to fail. He frequently sticks in the mud, and in fact the road is such, it is enough to make any horse on earth fail.

I have for 5 or 6 days traveled in Co. with 7 waggons for Ohio. 4 of them this day took the road for Wheeling in Virginia, where they expect to cross the Ohio. The other 3 still keep on for Pittsburg. We have traveled for 5 or 6 days thro a rough, mountainous, poor Country, full of Deers, and we daily see an abundance of Pigeons.

The houses are all log houses and almost every house is a tavern.

We have this day traveled to the foot of Chesnut Ridge, from the west side of Laurel Hill, which is 16 miles.

I this day understood by the Waggoners that there was a waggon robbed on laurel hill night before last. The robber took some goods and one horse. They are in pursuit of him and will probably catch him.

This afternoon has been cloudy and it now rains.

Wednesday, Oct. 1.

. . . I am now alone, a stranger in a strange land, travelling on still towards the south,[23] yet feel very contented, and am in perfect Health. I apprehend no danger.

This afternoon while I was bating, Oliver came up with me again, and in a few moments after, he discovered to his surprise, and in addition to his other troubles, that he had lost the Carnelian stone, from his watch seal. This made him feel very low. He says he has had the worst luck that ever he had in his life, and wishes he never had heard of Ohio. This makes me laugh. He in a pet mounts his horse, and back he goes, about 9 miles to find the stone.

I harness up and drive on, 6 miles, untill about ¾ of an hour after sunset where I intersect the old Pennsylvania road, and here I strike the

[22] This was not an uncommon sight in those days. See John Woods, *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie* (1822), Thwaites, X. 203.

[23] This is an error. The course of the Old Glade Road, on which he was then traveling, from the foot of Chestnut Ridge to the Old Pennsylvania Road, was west and northwest. See map facing page 184 in *Christopher Gist's Journals*, W. M. Darlington, ed. (Pittsburgh, 1893).

new turnpike.[24] I am now within 23 miles of Pittsburg and hope to reach there tomorrow. I have out driven all the other waggons, and am again alone. . . .

I have this day traveled on the glades road from the foot of Chesnut ridge to the old Pennsylvania road, or new turnpike, which is 17 miles.[25]

Thursday, Oct. 2.

The new turnpike does very well. Drove on 8 miles and here I have to turn of the turnpike, because it is not built. Here I travel by Tottle Creek 4 miles before I can strike the turnpike again. I think this is the worst 4 miles of road I have ever traveled on yet on account of mud and Rocks. In descending one of the monstrous clay hills I broke one of my axletrees. Here I left my waggon after taking out the fore wheels to carry to a blacksmith, 1 mile, to be mended. This takes about 1 hour. Then on I drive again thro the clay mud.

The people are busyly employed in cradling and secureing Buck wheat, sowing wheat and mowing rowin, and cutting stalks. I have seen but very few stalks cut although it is the 2 of Oct. and new Cider very rarely.[26] The season appears one month later than at Stonington.

This afternoon traveled about 2 miles thro a very bad piece of road before I reached the turnpike, then travel on about 7 miles. Toward night I discovered the opposite end of the axletree to the one that had been mended was about breaking. I drove on slowly thro Wilkesburg to a

[24] "Old Pennsylvania Road" was the name commonly given to the Pennsylvania State Road, authorized by an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly on Sept. 21, 1785. *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1851), XV. 13. It ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster, where it divided. The main route extended thence to Harrisburg, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Strasburg, Fannettsburg, Fort Littleton, Bedford, Ligonier, Greensburg, and Pittsburgh. The other route ran to Wright's Ferry (Columbia), York, Chambersburg, and Fort Loudon, rejoining the main road about twelve miles east of Bedford. Thwaites, III. 319, n. 3, and p. 369, n. 50. Hulbert identifies the Pennsylvania Road with Forbes's Road, which was opened from Carlisle to Pittsburgh in 1758; but this is scarcely accurate since, as described by him, the latter was cut from Carlisle to Bedford by way of Chambersburg and Fort Loudon, thus coinciding wholly with neither branch of the State Road. For the course of Forbes's Road, see the map in A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America,* V. 102; also, Darlington, pp. 184–185. For the course of the State Road from Mount Rock through Shippensburg and Strasburg to Bedford, see *Col. Rec. of Penn.,* XV. 331. The stretch from Philadelphia to Lancaster was macadamized between 1792 and 1795—the famous Lancaster Turnpike. The rest of the road, except the section through Strasburg and Fannettsburg, was converted into a turnpike between 1806 and 1818. Faris, pp. 94–97, 206.

[25] The Old Glade Road branched from the State Road about four miles west of Bedford, passed through Somerset and Mount Pleasant, and crossed the Youghiogheny at the site of the present town of West Newton. Thwaites, III. 330, n. 8. About thirteen miles from the foot of Chestnut Ridge, the road forked, and the northern branch rejoined the Pennsylvania Road near Greensburg. *Ibid.,* IV. 73. Our author took this road.

[26] F. A. Michaux, who traveled over the Pennsylvania Road in 1802, noted that the people cared very little for cider, "which they find too weak". *Ibid.,* III. 144. Perhaps this explains why our author had such difficulty in finding any of his favorite beverage.

waggon maker, Tavern, and Blacksmith shop, all together. Here I stop for the night.[27] In the morning I shall have a new axletree.

I am inured to those little disappointments, so that they do not move me. I have this day traveled alone 17 miles and am now within 6 miles of Pittsburg.

Friday, Oct. 3.

. . . I am now within one mile of the place where Gen. Braddock was defeated. There the great Father of his Country with his little heroic band of Virginia Blues, saved the remnant of Braddocks defeated army. This act alone was enough to have made his name Immortal on the book of Fame.

The place where the Defeat was is now all settled. It is on the hills of the Monnongahela. An old gentleman told me that some marks of Braddocks Artillery are yet to be seen among the trees and the bones of those that were slain are frequently plowed up.

This afternoon about 4 o clock, started for Pittsburg where I arrived before sunset having a very good road. . . .

I found a Yanke at Wilksburg who gave me a general description of the inhabitants. He calls them very indolent, generally Irish, and they dislike a Yanke, as they would poison. From my own observation I discover they are very profane in conversation. Some little children, that cannot speak plain, will swear most bitterly, and this is winked at by the parents.

Pittsburg stands on the point of land between Monongahela from the south east, and the Allegany from the north east. This appears to be a great place of business. The City is about as large as 4 of N. London. Some of the houses and stores are elegant, and some are in the old log style. The Inhabitants here are generally Irish and some of them are quite civil.

The state of religion through all Pennsylvania appears very low. Little or no regard is paid to the Sabboth. It is, with a few exceptions, a day for sports, and recreations.

In passing the 4 miles of unturnpiked road by Turtle Creek, I saw 18 horses hung to one waggon, hauling it up one of the mud hills. The Waggoners call this the worst road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg.

I am now in the City of Pittsburg at the sign of the black bear near the market. Have this day traveled but 6 miles.

Saturday, Oct. 4.

This morning being a little Foggy I waited untill it cleared up and then ascended Grants Hill or the place where the British Gen. Grant was slain fighting the French and Indians. This hill completely overlooks the town and gives a pleasing appearance of the Allegany on the right from the N. E. and the Monongahela from the left or S. E., gently rooling by the City and peaceably uniting their waters at the extremity of the town, there forming the Grand River Ohio.

This morning at Pittsburg market was a very busy crowd buying and selling almost every production of the Country.

This market is not so large but I think it is as brisk as N. York.

The other public buildings are a court house, 3 or 4 places for public worship and a very handsome Theatre.

[27] Wilkesburg appears on modern maps as Wilkinsburg, a suburb of Pittsburgh, on the Lincoln Highway.

I this morning viewed the waxwork, which was very striking, representing Ann Carson and Richard Smith murdering Capt. Carson, also Othello in the act of stabbing his wife, Robinson Crusoe on Juan Fernandes, the wife of Jerome Buonoparte formerly Miss Patterson, the belle of N. Orleans, the American frigates Capturing the British ones, the Quaker Beauty of Philadelphia, Naples with Mount Etna in full view and many other things to long to mention.

I also viewed old fort Pitt, which is in a decayed state. The Stone magazine remains entire. Wrote a letter to Henry and put in the office.

This afternoon the sun about ½ an hour high crossed over the Monongahela and in attempting to ascend a very steep hill, my horse stopped and run back and broke the Iron catch to the waggon and came very near running off the bank and upsetting, but with the help of 3 men I was able to gain the road again. Drove down the hill and put up for the night.

Disappointments sometimes work immediately for good, for by further enquiring I found this was entirely the wrong road and the hill was ½ a mile up and very steep. In the morning I shall take a road quite the other way.

Oct. 5.

. . . This morning I took the River road, and traveled thro the township of Allegany, County of Washington. The road has been much better than on the other side of the River, something hilly, but dry and clear from stones.

. . . There is a great contrast between the people on the other side the River and here. There they are drunken, prophane, and savage, but here they appear civil and very religious, very attentive to public worship, etc.

I have this Day traveled 20 miles.

One thing more I will notice about Pittsburg. For 15 or 20 miles, almost every hill is stored with an abundance of Stone coal.[28] In some places it lies near the surface of the Earth, but generally 8 or 10 feet under the surface. Some large hills are nearly dug down after this Coal. The black smiths use no other. It cost them about 6 or 7 Dolls. hund.[29] It is the only fuel used in Pittsburg, which gives the City a very black appearance, caused by the smoak, and every family on the road for 20 miles from Pittsburg use this coal, and no wood. Their fire places are fixed for it with an Iron Grate and it makes a very hot fire. Every farmer can dig his own Coal on his own land.

The Digging costs about 2.50¢ hund.

Monday, Oct. 6.

[Seven miles.]

[28] This is an error. Stone coal is anthracite; and, as is well known, the anthracite measures of Pennsylvania are confined to the region between the Allegheny Plateau and the Piedmont. Bituminous coal would, of course, appear hard to those unfamiliar with anthracite.

[29] He must have meant 6 or 7 cents per hundred. Hulme gives the price in 1818 as 7 cents per bushel of 80 pounds. Thomas Hulme, *Journal of a Tour in the Western Countries of America*, reprinted in Thwaites, X. 37. Fortescue Cuming gave the price in 1807 as 5 cents per bushel. Thwaites, IV. 77.

Tuesday, Oct. 7.

. . . Drove to the Virginia line 3 miles, then crossed a point of Virginia to the Ohio River, 6 miles. The land in Virginia is very good across this point. Saw some large Virginia Corn this Day. Drove to the banks of the Ohio, and crossed over into Steubenvill in Ohio.

Last nights Rain has muddyed the Waters of the Ohio, and raised the river considerably.

I am now at Stubanesville in Ohio. I have this day been in three of the United States. This place is about as large as Stonington Point, and has the appearance of a growing place. I put up at the Kentucky and Ohio Hotel. The Landlord is a Yankey. Have this Day traveled 9 miles. From Pittsburg to Stubenvill is 36 miles.

Wednesday, Oct. 8.

Clear morning. Drove off from the River . . . to New Salem. Here put up for the night. This place has about 40 houses, a small market, 2 Stores, and a Bank in very poor credit and mechanicks in proportion. This place has been built from the woods in about 4 years, and the woods surround them now very closely.

I have traveled this day but 16 miles.

Thursday, Oct. 9.

[Thirteen miles to Cadiz.]

What little religion the people have is of the Presbyterian and Methodist order. Lorenzo Dow has been preaching in this place.

Friday, Oct. 10.

. . . This morning I offered some of my goods for sale in Cadis, but the money being so scarce, I sold but a few. (about $30 worth) There is here so much bad money or money that is good for nothing out of its own neighbourhood, that it is hard work to sell goods here. [To Hanover, 8 miles.]

Saturday, Oct. 11.

Clear morning with white frost, and has been clear thro the Day. Started this morning before sunrise and drove thro the woods on what is here called the ridge road to New Philadelphia. This road is very crooked, and runs on a high ridge of land all the way. The land is clear from stones but not very rich.

I traveled this morning thro the woods 13 miles without seeing a house, then came to a handsome plantation which has been settled 7 years. Here I bated my horse and took Dinner.

In the afternoon had a hilly but dry good road. Traveled 14 miles. Saw only 4 or 5 houses. The country looks like a wilderness, but the Inhabitants think it cleared enough. I am now within ¾ of a mile of N. Philadelphia. The land is cleared and good.

I have this day traveled 28 miles.

Sunday, Oct. 12.

. . . I am now at the house of Esqr. Nieusley, a Dutchman or as they call themselves (Germans). This man 13 years since purchased 30,000 acres and moved to this place, laid out the Village of New Philadelphia

which stands on a level plain on the Tuskarawa River.[30] In the Village is about 40 Dwelling houses, 4 Stores, a Court house and gail, 3 taverns and mechanicks in proportion.

He has his Children which are 13 in number settled all around him.

There was quite a stir this day about a thief who had stollen the Ministers Horse about a week since.

His pursuers had followed him to Virginia where they recovered horse and thief but in returning the thief slipped from them, and made his escape. They returned this morning with the horse.

About the middle of the day as the people were assembling for meeting, another thief was brought into town, who had been detected in stealing 2 trunks from some movers in the south part of the County. He was also a Virginian, was commited to the Penitentiary, after being Ironed. This made such another stir that it prevented the meeting until evening.

In the evening the meeting was attended in the Court house. There was 2 ministers and all of their performances were in German although they could speak English. I could understand but a very few words but they appeared to be much engaged and wrapped up in their discourse.

After the Discourse, the minister that had his horse stollen, made an address to the people. I enquired of Mr. Nieusley what it was. He said it was an address of thanks to the people for pursuing the thief, and touching on the depravity of human nature.

The woods abound with Turkeys, pigeons, Deer, wild Cat, Foxes, Raccoon, etc. Mr. Nieusley tells me he has had over 200 Hogs at one time in the woods and some of them very fat would weigh 250 lb.

Monday, Oct. 13.

. . . This day I sold about $50 worth of Goods in New Philadelphia. Money is scarce indeed or I should sold much more. The people are generally honest but Ignorant, Industrious, plain in their Dress and manners. I shall stay in town this night.

Tuesday, Oct. 14.

. . . From N. Philadelphia towards Paintsville for about 12 miles the land is as level as the surface of a Lake, not very rich, covered with shrubs, and no large trees. The trees have all been killed by the Indians burning over the spot. Their manner was this—

In the fall of the Year the Indians would encircle this extensive plain with a ring of fire. As the fire would contract towards the Centre of the plain, all the wild beasts on the plain at the time the fire was set, would run from the fire and be driven in a small compass. Here the Indians with their bows and arrows would have fine sport in killing them. They have improved this spot in this manner for a great number of years. [To Paintsville, 21 miles.]

Oct. 15, Wednesday.

[16 miles.]

[30] New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County, was laid out in 1804 by John Knisely. Howe, III. 380. The author evidently made a rough guess at the spelling of the proprietor's name.

Thursday, Oct. 16.

. . . I am now at Worster. This place is about as large as Milltown, has a Court house and is growing rapidly. This place has all been built in 7 years except 1 Small Cabin.

I shall stay at Worster another night.

Friday, Oct. 17.

. . . I have this day been quite busy selling goods in Worster. Sold about $100 worth. Shall stay in Worster another night.

Saturday, Oct. 18.

. . . Sold this day about $30 worth goods.

Oct. 19.

. . . Traveled over a level Praire this day of about 4 miles where the soil appeared good but not unusually rich. Grape vines plenty.

The woods are mostly white oak and walnut and very level and abound with Turkey, Deer and other game.

Traveled this Day 15 miles. [To Jeromesville.]

The salt works are a curiosity in this country and by experience it is found to be a fact that in the first place all water in the bowels of the Earth are salt, and freshened by the Air and the earth towards the surface.

The salt works on Yellow creek are supplyed by water from a hole 2½ Inches Diameter bored into the earth or rather into a Rock 380 feet. Those works are carried on extensively. There are salt works in many parts of this western country on the same plan.

On a branch of the Allegany there is salt water taken from the Earth for an extensive Salt works 500 feet from the surface.

Those works can be erected where ever they please only by boreing deep enough. Generally they are erected on some River so as to transport the salt by water and a rock is chosen to bore into as this will not cave.[31]

Monday, Oct. 20.

[7 miles.]

Tuesday, Oct. 21.

. . . Drove to Perrysville 6 miles. Some of the Road very muddy. This place has about 9 or 10 houses, stands on the black fork of the Mohiccan and is boatable from the Ohio to this place by Zanesville. The land is level full of Prairies which are rich, but very muddy.

This country abounds with Honey, most of it wild, but can be found with a little trouble in great quantities, beef—fattened in the woods but

[31] Yellow Creek rises in Carroll County and flows east by northeast into the Ohio. The salt deposits in this part of Ohio are near the surface and the brines are weak. Farther south they lie much deeper and the brines are stronger. Howe, II. 577. This is also the case in central New York, in England, and in Poland. J. W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York, 1841), p. 396. Experience in those fields no doubt gave rise to the notion that all water in the bowels of the earth is salt; but the theory, if such it may be called, has long since been exploded.

very good, pork, or rather hogs, what we should call about ½ fatted, in any quantity you please. They run in the woods in great droves and feed on Mast, as they here call it, which is the fruit of the oak, hickory and beech. Some farmers in the Reserve[32] a little above this place have 1500 hogs in the woods at one time. The inhabitants have enough to eat and drink except Cider. Dry goods and Groceries are very high, and as for money, I may truly say, they have none.

Wheat is worth from 62½¢ to $1.00, Corn 50¢, Cheese 12½, butter the same. Oats 34¢.

Traveled this day but 6 miles and put up about noon in Perrysville.

Wednesday, Oct. 22.

[21 miles.]

Thursday, Oct. 23.

[4 miles.] [Mount Vernon] is something larger then Milltown, has a Court House and bank in poor credit, called Owl Creek bank of Mt. Vernon.

Friday, Oct. 24.

. . . Sold this day goods to the amt. of about $40. Called on the Owl Creek bank of Mt. Vernon with some of their paper which was rejected. I then had some leangthy conversation with 3 of the Directors. At length one of them proposed to receive my bills in exchange for goods out of his store at cost, which I accepted of. I received no Owl Creek paper in Mt. Vernon, but what I had was received previous to my comeing here. (Goods sell here very high.)

Saturday, Oct. 25.

. . . Drove from Vernon 3 miles . . . and took breakfast. The land this morning is level, thickly settled, and is very rich and well cleared. I am told the land farther south is still better. . . . From here I drove to Newark in Licking County, 22 miles. The land answers the description being still better, some of it quite level and some riseing and falling a little, of a black rich soil. I have this day seen some pieces of Corn that will yield about 60 bushels to the Acre. Passed one large wet Praire perfectly level, no timber but covered with large coarse grass six or seven feet high, and plenty of cranburys. Where I Dined was a large black bear chained to a waggon. I had some sport with him. He is a strong clumbsy animal. This afternoon within 4 miles of Newark crossed Licking Creek. On this Creek stands a saw mill, grist mill, and a large Distillery. This latter being a great fountain of Corruption, friend to Sin, and promoter of Vice, depraves the manners and morals of the people in this newly settled State to an astonishing degree, enticeing them to the Taverns every Saturday afternoon. Intoxication, gambling, swearing, and stealing are the consequences—yet there is some very civil moral men in many places.

Traveled this Day to Newark, 25 miles.

Sunday, Oct. 26.

. . . This place (Newark) is the County seat for Licking County, has a handsome brick Court House and Meeting House of the Presbyterian order, both standing on the green in the centre of the town which contains

[32] The Connecticut or Western Reserve.

about 1 acre. The buildings enclose this green on all sides. Here are 6 stores and mechanicks in proportion. This place is about as large as Mt. Vernon or Worster. The land about here is very good.

It being so rainy there was no meeting. There is generally about 4 males to 1 Female, which causes the latter to be in great demand although they are not much refined.

Monday, Oct. 27.

[7 miles.]

Tuesday, Oct. 28.

. . . This morning the landlord tells me the land here is selling at about $20 an acre. Eighty acres of Corn lies directly south of the house which will yield about 50 bus. an acre. This place is called Bowlingreene. Yesterday in the afternoon crossed Licking Creek, and this morning crossed the Rocky fork of Licking. From the rocky fork to Zanesville 18 miles the road and land is hilly, not as rich and fertile as farther west. This afternoon crossed Licking Creek within 4 miles of Zanesville with all the branches united. This is as large as Pawcatuck River at the bridge. Drove down by the side of this Creek to the Muskingum, where those waters from the West discharge into the Muskingum directly opposite Zanesville. I crossed the Muskingum on a bridge into the town, which lies on the east bank and is about 1½ as large as N. London and is a very lively place of business.

. . . Put up at Dugans. Traveled this Day 19 miles.

Wednesday, Oct. 29.

. . . This morning I took a walk thro the town. Found it to be a busy place and growing rapidly. Some handsome brick buildings.

Last night I lodged with an old gentleman from Virginia, (Potowmack River) travelling home from N. Lancaster. He tells me he passed thro this place 21 years since and there was but one small log house.

It was laid out by one Zanes who was a prisoner among the Indians from a boy untill he was between 20 and 30 years old. He married a Squaw and had by her a number of Children, some of them now live about Zanesville. While a prisoner she saved his life a number of times and he in return maintained her handsomely untill she died.[33] This shows the strength of Conjugal affection.

In the afternoon drove out the Coshockton Road 13 miles. . . .

Thursday, Oct. 30 to Sunday, Nov. 2.

[Staying with friends.]

Monday, Nov. 3.

Clear morning and frosty. After receiving 4 or 5 letters, I pursued my journey for Stillwells ferry. . . .

[33] Zanesville was founded by Ebenezer and Jonathan Zane and John McIntire in 1799. It was the state capital from 1810 to 1812. The author, or some one who told him the story, has confused Ebenezer with Isaac Zane, who was captured by the Indians at the age of nine, married a Wyandot woman, and lived like an aborigine. He later bought a tract of 1800 acres in the present Logan County and settled near Zanesfield, where he died in 1816. *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777*, Thwaites and Kellogg, eds. [Draper series], III. 203, n. 45.

Major Cass (Father to Gen. Cass who is now Gov. of Michigan Territory) lives near this place at the mouth of Wakatonuka Creek. He is an old man. Was Major in the Revolutionary war and for his service had Military tract No. 1, or the first choice of all the military lands in the State of Ohio. This tract of 4000 acres was chosen at this place. His lands reach about 1 mile above Stillwells Ferry.

Traveled this Day 9 miles.

Tuesday, Nov. 4.

. . . I have carried my pocket pistol so long, it has worn out my pocket and I have laid it aside in my chest. The people are more in fear of me than I am of them. All I have to fear is, that the Deers will run over me and the wild turkeys pick out my eyes.

About sun set crossed the Muskingum at Nobles Ferry, and Drove 2½ miles to Coshocktan. . . . 13 miles.

Wednesday, Nov. 5.

. . . Coshockton lies on the east bank of the Muskingum, at the place where it takes its name. The White Woman [river] from the west and the Tuscarawa from the East unite at this place and here take the name of Muskingum.[34]

This place is the County seat, has 2 Stores, a Court house, etc., and about 30 houses. The land about here is nearly all bottom land. Is very rich.

This afternoon drove out to Wolfs Inn, 11 Miles. . . .

Thursday, Nov. 6.

. . . Drove on to New Comers town. This stands on a rich bottom North of the river. I drove thro a rich bottom on the river road 10 miles, then to avoid the Creeks which are very high I took the ridge road, which in some places was hilly, in others beechy and wet. This afternoon started up 3 Deers very near me. They gazed at me for a few moments, then with a sudden bound hid themselves in the woods, very soon. Towards night crossed old town Creek and about sunset crossed the Tuscarawa into New Philadelphia.

Traveled this Day in the rain for to cross old town creek, before it rises, not being bridged, 27 miles.

Friday, Nov. 7.

. . . About 2 Oclock left N. Philadelphia for Canton. I have been at N. Philadelphia before, and here I cross my track.

. . . The Houses are like all the others in the state of Ohio, Logs, Logs, Logs—built without nail or spike in any part whatever. This is a general description.

The land generally is great land if it was only cleared and tilled.

In N. Philadelphia this day was 8 great strong lazy fellows playing ball. Traveled this day 10 miles.

The Bank in N. Philadelphia is gaining credit and currency, but the merchants and Inhabitants have but very little money. . . .

[34] The Muskingum River is formed by the junction of the Tuscarawas with the Walhonding, or White Woman. The latter name recalls the "Legend of the Walhonding" and Mary Harris, its heroine. Howe, I. 467.

Saturday, Nov. 8.

[15 miles.]

Sunday, Nov. 9.

I this day attended meeting. The speaker was percisely one hour and 30 minutes, in telling his audience that he was of the Scotch reformed Church, and he believed them to be right, although there was so many other denominations, such as methodists, etc.

He then read a psalm, of David, as he called it, but it was Hopkins version of Davids psalms and the meetre truly caused me to grit my teeth at the close of every line.

Then made a prayer. His text was Revelation, 1 Chapter, verse [18], I am he that was dead and am alive again and behold I live forever more, Amen, and have the keys of hell and Death. After hovering on the confines for about 30 minutes, he engaged in his discourse and performed very well—for Ohio—yet he asserted that John the Evangelist Revelator and Devine was one and the same person. . . .

Monday, Nov. 10.

. . . I have this day been in Canton selling goods, rather small sales on a/c of goods being plenty and money very scarce. Shall continue in Canton another night. . . .

Tuesday, Nov. 11.

. . . Drove from Canton to Randolph, 18 miles. This is a small settlement, the 1 Township on the Reserve. The land is more cleared and the Inhabitants all Yankeys.

Money if possible scarcer and scarcer. There was sold in this place a few days since, 3 or 4 horses by virtue of an execution for 13 and 14 Dolls. each, which with us would sell for 65 or 70. Traveled this Day 18 miles.

Wednesday, Nov. 12.

[9 miles.]

Thursday, Nov. 13.

. . . Drove to Ravanna 3 miles before sunrise. This is a County seat on the reserve. The Inhabitants are all from N. England, and the land is better improved and better buildings. The land more cleared, has a better appearance than to the south although the land is no better.

In afternoon drove to Charleston 5 miles and put up early, because I am here told the next nine miles between here and Warren is thro a muddy woods and no house. Traveled this Day but 8 miles.

Friday, Nov. 14.

. . . Drove this morning from Charlston thro a Wilderness 9 miles on a new road cut thro but 3 Days since. My waggon is the first that ever passed on this road. The land thro this wilderness is level, perfectly so, the timber mostly beech, and this new road very stumpy and rooty. No house, nor trace of any human being except the stumps in the road. At length came to the Mohoning River. This I forded and in attempting to ascend the opposite bank which was very steep, I failed. Took out my

horse and rode to a house about ½ mile. From here a man with his oxen went and hawled my waggon up the bank.

The Mahoning is about 8 or 10 Rods wide, the bottom solid stone and the banks quite steep. Subject to sudden swells. After crossing the River ½ mile came to a road that had been used for years. From here the land is cleared and settled to Warren. Traveled 9 miles and put up at Phillip Leffingwells, formerly from Trading Cove, Norwich, Con. He is a black smith and repaired my waggon. This evening the wind blew high and rained gently. I have this Day crossed the Mohoning 5 times and have traveled but 18 miles.

Saturday, Nov. 15.

. . . This morning Mr. Leffingwell went with me to town which is 2 miles, the land perfectly level. One mile of this road is a log bridge and it is very necessisary. The other mile should be bridged also.

Warren is the County seat for Trumbull County, is a handsome village nearly as large as Stonington Point, with very good buildings. The Western Reserve Bank is kept here which is in very good credit.[35]

Traveled this Day but 2 miles. . . .

Sunday, Nov. 16.

This is the Lords day morning, cool and pleasant. I am at the Warren Hotel kept by J. Holladay. The Landlord is a very pleasant man and by birth a Kentuckyan.

This day I attended meeting with the family at the new Court House which is a very fine brick building, finished off for a Court and meeting house with a fine Gallery.

The speaker was a young man by the name of Adamson Bentley.

. . . The audience were numerous, well dressed and civil. Appeared to feel the force of his words. The performances were attended with very good singing in the Gallery. The Inhabitants here are all Yankeys.

Monday, Nov. 17.

Rainy morning and continued to rain gently thro the Day.

Called this morning at the Bank in Warren and requested the Cashier to give me Meadville or Niagara paper for about one hundred Dollars of Miscellaneous Ohio paper which was refused. I then presented $250 of his own paper and observed on this I think I will take the Specie.

The Cashier then proposed to give Niagara for the whole, which I accepted. . . .

[35] Warren had a population of 1025 in 1820. The banks of the Western states had followed the example of those of the Southern and Middle states in suspending specie payments after the British took Washington in August, 1814. McMaster, IV. 294–297. The banks of New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, District of Columbia, Virginia, and two in Ohio resumed specie payments on Feb. 20, 1817. This was the date set by a joint resolution of Congress on and after which nothing should be received in payment of duties, taxes, and debts due the United States, except coin, Treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or of banks redeeming their bills in legal money. *Ibid.*, IV. 312–317. The Western Reserve Bank was organized on Nov. 24, 1813. Howe says that for the first twenty-three years of its existence it was so well managed that "as good as a Western Reserve bank bill" became a common saying. *Historical Collections of Ohio*, III. 361.

Before I left Warren I called on Gen. Simon Perkins, to make enquirey concerning Doct Lerds Land. By him I learned that he had been on the land. He also turned to his books and showed me a map and survey of the above land. The 2400 Acre tract he calls a very good tract and thinks it worth from 2½ to 3 or 3½ Dolls. per acre. The 5020 acre tract is the south part of the township. This township is divided into 3 tracts. He thinks this a little the best of the three, and worth about as much as the above tract.

The other land in 11 Range 6 and 7 township are probably worth from 3 to 5 Dolls. per acre. Those prices are with the usual credits. Gen. Perkins tells me he has paid the taxes on said land by young Mr. Mathus request.

The 975 acres as the Doctor has called it, is but 975/1000 of an acre in the City of Cleveland. This may possibly be worth one hundred, or one hundred fifty Dolls.

Traveled this day 15 miles. [To Mercer.][36]

[36] From Mercer, Mr. Chesebrough made his way via Erie, Pa., to Buffalo, thence through central New York to Albany and across the southwestern corner of Massachusetts to his native state, reaching Stonington on Dec. 18, 1817, after an absence of three months and ten days.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Berkshire Studies in European History. Under the Editorship of RICHARD A. NEWHALL, LAURENCE B. PACKARD, SIDNEY R. PACKARD. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1927–1931. $1.00 each.)

THE list of titles in the Berkshire Studies in European History is now long enough to invite an appraisement of the whole series.[1] What merit does it hold in that ubiquitous general European history course where lectures, quiz sections, textbooks, source problems, term papers, and chapters from historical classics compete as instruments of instruction?

The editors launched their series in 1927 with three volumes written by themselves, and most of the subsequent contributions have followed their model rather closely. The standard length, which only three volumes greatly exceed, is approximately one hundred and ten pages, or twenty-six thousand words. This is about twice the space which is permitted in the most liberal textbook treatment of the same subjects, and about half the space given in the volumes of such a series as the Home University Library.[2] The Berkshire authors use their space with economy, make their pages meaty with information, and contrive to give to their topics a kind of unity and completeness which the textbook author can not attempt. The merit of the treatment on this particular scale is its close adaptation to existing teaching and reading habits. The usual one year general European history course must cover every week about as wide a range as comes within the compass of one of these books. The ordinary reading habits of the underclassman will in that same week carry him through about as many printed pages of "outside reading" as fill each volume.

[1] Richard A. Newhall, *The Crusades* (1927); Laurence B. Packard, *The Commercial Revolution, 1400–1776* (1927); Sidney R. Packard, *Europe and the Church under Innocent III.* (1927); Frederick C. Dietz, *The Industrial Revolution* (1927); John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Basis of European History* (1928); Summerfield Baldwin, *The Organization of Medieval Christianity* (1929); Geoffrey Bruun, *The Enlightened Despots* (1929); Arthur H. Buffinton, *The Second Hundred Years War, 1689–1815* (1929); David Edward Owen, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East* (1929); Laurence Bradford Packard, *The Age of Louis XIV.* (1929); Halford Lancaster Hoskins, *European Imperialism in Africa* (1930); Frank Nowak, *Medieval Slavdom and the Rise of Russia* (1930); Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1931); Edward Dwight Salmon, *Imperial Spain* (1931); Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800–1930* (1931).

[2] *Cf.* L. B. Packard's *Commercial Revolution* with the 17,000 word chapter in Hayes's textbook, S. R. Packard's *Innocent III.* with the 13,000 word chapters in Thorndike, R. A. Newhall's *The Crusades* with the 15,000 word chapter in Hulme.

As additions to the list of suggested readings, which the professors diligently compile and students persistently ignore, each of these volumes is welcome. But the value of the series as a whole depends upon another relation to the total teaching apparatus. It is intended for "required reading". Although these volumes cost three times as much as average library books if the reckoning is based upon the amount of reading matter, nevertheless they offer a real economy to libraries because their length is so accurately gauged to the probable reading rate of the students. The cost of supplying them at the usual rate of one copy for ten students is not prohibitive. Therefore the series serves to free the history instructor both from the textbook and from the necessity for covering his ground in lectures. If this greater freedom is devoted to enriching the teaching with Socratic discussion or to leading the students into the interpretation of source material, it will help to end the régime whereby publishers with their textbooks and universities with their large lecture halls plunder the Freshman history course. James Harvey Robinson used to taunt his academic colleagues that they had not really taken into account the invention of printing, because they were giving as lectures information which the student might just as well take from the printed page. The Berkshire series is an enlightened application of printing to the problem of teaching.

Most of the volumes of the Berkshire series are about what one would expect them to be, given the title and the space at the author's disposal. Two of them are worth special mention, because they illustrate the two opposite poles between which the different items of the series are distributed. Summerfield Baldwin's *Organization of Medieval Christianity* is not a condensed description of an ecclesiastical system, but an attempt to explain the somewhat abstruse hypothesis of Rudolf Sohm that the idea of the Church developed from that of sacrament to that of corporation. John Kirtland Wright, in planning his *Geographical Basis of European History,* might have followed a similar line and undertaken to expound and defend the theory of geographical determinism, but he preferred to avoid all theorizing and to confine himself to the description of the "Africo-Arabian Arid Region", the "Alpine Mediterranean Region", and the "Northern Region". Baldwin attempts to bring to the student a taste of an historical literature that would otherwise be wholly inaccessible to him; he takes great ideas and tries to simplify them. Wright, on the other hand, is dominated by the textbook idea; since he is merely expanding a textbook treatment, he seems to be taking simple ideas and elaborating them. Goodenough, in *The Church in the Roman Empire,* and Bruun, in *The Enlightened Despots,* come nearest to Baldwin in spirit. The two kinds of approach give variety to the series and increase its usefulness.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Papyri in the Princeton University Collections. Edited with Notes by ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, sometime Fellow in the Johns Hopkins University, Professor of Classics, Princeton University, and by HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN, Librarian at Brown University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, no. 10, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1931. Pp. xxiii, 146. $7.50.)

THE fourteen papyri here published consist of tax-documents of the village Philadelphia in the time of Tiberius. No. 1 (24–25 A.D.) is a daybook of arrears of the *syntaximon;* nos. 2 (25 A.D.), 3–6 (*c.* 20–33 A.D.), 7 (*c.* 20–30 A.D.), 8 (*c.* 27–32 A.D.), 9 (31 A.D.), 10 (34 A.D.)= the verso of 9, 11–12 (35 A.D.), and 14 (*c.* 23–40 A.D.) are registers of taxes. No. 13 (*c.* 35 A.D.), the verso of 8, is a long roll of accounts in twenty columns, whose precise nature remains in doubt. The editors suggest (p. 79) that it may be a draft of a monthly report made by the tax-collector to the strategos.

The importance of these documents lies in the fact that they afford early and direct evidence of the drastic system of Roman taxation in Egypt. Especially significant in this connection is the case of a weaver (p. xxii) who, as the editors point out, paid thirty-eight drachmae for his trade-tax, forty-four for his *syntaximon,* forty-five for his *laographia,* and other assessments for dyke-taxes and pig-taxes amounting to a total of one hundred and forty drachmae. The wages of a weaver can not be computed with accuracy: in P. Oxy. 737 (*c.* 1 A.D.), the sum is about three hundred and thirty-five drachmae a year. Even if this was in addition to his keep, which is not certain, the percentage taken by the government represents an excessive amount. Unfortunately these documents, although they form a welcome addition to our source material, afford little information on the character of some of the taxes, nor do they settle the perplexing problem of the relation of the *syntaximon* to the *laographia.* There is sufficient evidence, however, to show that the *syntaximon* was assessed at varying rates in multiples of four up to fifty-two drachmae. The editors suggest (p. xxii) that the persons subject to the *syntaximon* formed "a special group, possibly drawn from a class of former state-tenants", and that the assessments varied for different classes into which the population of Philadelphia was divided (p. xvi). This may be correct, but further evidence seems desirable.

The introduction (pp. xiii–xxiii) gives an excellent analysis of the documents and of their relation to known texts. The texts (pp. 1–115) are accompanied by clear résumés and exegetical commentaries, in which the puzzling questions raised by the papyri are discussed with acumen. The index (pp. 117–146), always a laborious task in preparing papyrological publications, is complete, but its utility as an instrument of research is im-

paired by the fact that in numerous instances the words listed do not correspond exactly with the forms printed in the texts. A more attentive revision would also have proved helpful in matters of accent and declension of names.

A more extended review than can be presented here would call attention to specific instances in the Greek where alternative suggestions will occur to the reader. For example, θέλων σύνταξιν (p. xx) is certainly equivalent to τελῶν σύνταξιν; and in 13. viii. 10, as well as in the index, Ἀνδριάντω(ν) is regarded as a place-name. Is it not the tax ὑπὲρ ἀνδριάντων discussed by Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I. 152–154? Of more general interest is the problem of a system of dating which appears in no. 9 (pp. 48–50), which is comprehensible from none of the three possibilities suggested. But no publication of papyri can hope to deal in a definitive way with all the difficult questions that invariably arise. In this volume every effort has obviously been made to present the texts in an adequate historical setting, and the work, therefore, forms a most valuable addition to the literature of the Roman financial administration of Egypt.

The University of Michigan. J. G. Winter.

Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters. Von Dr. Franz M. Feldhaus. [Museum der Weltgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Herre, Universitätsprofessor, Berlin.] (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion. 1931. Pp. 442. 30 M.)

It need not surprise us that the idealist Plato, who lived with his head in the clouds, should have assigned a very humble place in the commonwealth to artisans and technicians; but that not only philosophers but the cultured classes in general since Plato's day should have maintained the same attitude is astonishing in view of the central importance at all times of inventors and their contrivances. Even in our twentieth century something of this "highbrow" disdain persists, although we may agree that it is giving way before the irresistible advance of the machine age. In a work, of which this is the first volume, the author will traverse the technical inventions through all the ages of man; and if the second volume continues to move on the level of this one, we may rest assured that it will be impossible to continue to ignore the very conspicuous rôle played by technology in the long history of civilization. So far as the present reviewer knows this is the first world history of the subject to appear which in its command of the diverse materials and in its strict scientific viewpoint is abreast of current professional requirements.

The book falls into four sections as follows: I., The Technology of Pre-History (*Urzeit*); II., The Technology of China, India, Babylonia, and Egypt; III., The Technology of Greece and Rome; IV., The Technology of the Middle Ages. In a bibliographical note the author declares that he

must decline to offer more than a few serviceable references because another volume would be necessary if he undertook to indicate the derivation of the approximately 14,000 excerpts from chronicles, official records, books of travel, monuments of art, etc., which constitute his scholarly apparatus. The statement becomes entirely credible as one follows the varied matter of the text, which, in spite of its great mass, constitutes no burden for the reader, owing to a form of exposition which never drags and is always pitched to a very human key. And equally satisfactory are the 452 illustrations which are absolutely indispensable if the text is to drive home its lesson. They are drawn from ancient publications, many of them existing in only a few copies, from pictorial and sculptural remains, and, most abundantly, from the exhibits of the great ethnological and technological museums. The approach of the author is scholarly, poised, and notably practical as the nature of his subject would seem to prescribe. He twits good-humoredly the occasional rhapsodist who apostrophizes the inventor as the hero and dreamer. By way of contrast he loves to stress the common sense view that technical advances represent usually small additions to earlier achievements and that they are the consequence less of inspiration than of patient, sober experimentation with already familiar processes, to the end of effecting their improvement.

To give the prospective reader a clew to the kind of problem treated and the information offered, a number of items may be selected almost at random. The statement on the so-called Greek fire employed by the Byzantines against the Arabs (p. 232) conclusively clears up the mystery which has long clung to this redoubtable instrument of war. That the Chinese invented both the magnetic needle and gunpowder is established beyond the possibility of doubt. (For the many items describing these inventions and their peregrinations, see the index under *Kompass* and *Schiesspulver*.) The greatness of the Chinese as inventors, proved by scores of their devices, comes with something of surprise to this reviewer, although it is true that an element in their nature hindered them from drawing all the possible consequences from their discoveries. Thus it was left to the Europeans to employ the magnetic needle to circumnavigate the globe and to utilize gunpowder to reduce the Chinese themselves to subjection. The author does not believe that the crusades stimulated Europe technically but he admits the independent discovery in the Rhine Valley of printing, already long in possession of the Chinese. At the close of the Middle Ages and as an augury of a period of intense technical expansion appeared Leonardo da Vinci, whose notebooks, liberally exploited by the author, reveal a mind extraordinarily fertile in constructive ideas.

The University of Chicago. FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Evolution of England: a Commentary on the Facts. By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. (Oxford: University Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. viii, 481. $6.00.)

DR. WILLIAMSON relates an oft told tale, but he tells it differently. His story reflects personality and it contains a thesis. As implied by the title, this thesis is that of the unity and development in English history. One may question the appropriateness of the title—the term evolution is worked to death nowadays—but if, in following the fortunes of England, we can more or less skip the troughs, the ascent will appear fairly continuous. However, the author seems to find it difficult to fit the latest age into his picture. Too near at hand to be passed over lightly, the events of the post-war era arouse disturbing visions of an approaching descent.

As indeed necessary in such a limited space, the account is confined to the subjects of traditional history; the cultural aspects are omitted. But no work of equal, and indeed few of much larger, size leaves such a clear, unified, and comprehensive impression of the course of events during the two thousand years of English history as does this book. By a skillful selection of facts, a judicious topical treatment, and a terse yet vivid method of narration, Dr. Williamson carries his readers with him on the long and eventful journey. Within the limits of his narrative, he has succeeded in being both informative and enlightening. Without descending to giving a mere outline, he presents the story of England in its relation to the British Isles, to the shifting currents of Continental European history, and to the overseas expansion in modern times. He has not written a textbook, as we ordinarily understand that term, thereby saving the space usually occupied with the paraphernalia intended to aid both teacher and pupil. The story is simply told, but not elementary in contents. One may imagine that Dr. Williamson in writing it has had in mind the intelligent, fairly well informed Britisher, at home and overseas, who wishes to refresh his memory on English history, and the student who desires to survey rapidly the entire field, filling a cranny here and there, but anxious chiefly to get a clear-cut impression of the whole. No other book known to the reviewer serves such a purpose so well.

The book possesses so many solid merits that it is difficult to select just a few for special mention, and for the same reason it may seem invidious to point out places where the reviewer might wish the author had written or judged differently. Particularly apt and suggestive seems the discussion of the rise of the English serf to the position of an individual with ideas and aspirations, as we find him toward the close of the Middle Ages; and within a restricted space Dr. Williamson has succeeded remarkably well in portraying the growth of England's sea power and of her early overseas empire. On the other hand, one may question the truth of expressions like "the feeble Anne" (p. 279) and "the sluggish Glenelg" (p. 423). Castlereagh did not abandon "the West Indian monopoly by his treaty with

the United States in 1814" (p. 416), nor did Disraeli, as implied (p. 431), buy the greater part of the shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. But, after all, these and some others of this kind are details that do not mar the value of an excellent piece of work. The book has neither footnotes nor bibliography, but it has several useful maps and a good index.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Magyars in the Ninth Century. By C. A. MACARTNEY, sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 241. $6.00.)

MR. MACARTNEY'S book is an excellent example of a type of historical monograph rarely seen nowadays—it is a careful, critical analysis of sources. The Arabic tradition is handled first, and a new translation in parallel columns brings together all of the scattered portions of the account. The data given by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in the *De Administrando Imperio* are then subjected to a detailed study on the lines already followed by Bury and Fehér. Then follow a series of excursuses on various topics, with an appendix containing the translation of the Arabic sources.

The general argument, which is in large measure a critique of Marquart's investigations, but clothed in somewhat more coherent form and more understandable language than the original, may be summarized by saying that the discrepancies in all the stories appear to have arisen through combining two accounts from two different periods. These have been somewhat unsuccessfully patched together.

In the case of the Arabic accounts Macartney comes to the conclusion that there were two main sources, one a merchant of Khwarism (s. ix inc.), the other Slavic with a Constantinopolitan orientation. These were combined and altered (perhaps by the hand of Al Jaihani), and appear in our three main accounts, Ibn Rusta, Gardezi, and Al Bekri. In addition, the other writers, like Ibn Fozlan and Ibn Jaq'ub, give a certain amount of independent evidence, in so far as we possess fragments of their writings.

Constantine Porphyrogenetos formulates his account from three sources: (a) a Pečeneg informant; (b) a Magyar account of a later date; (c) a Kavar source. The author then discusses the dates of the other chapters of *De Administrando Imperio.* Macartney closes his book by four excursuses: I., The Abrégé des Merveilles; the Works of Al-Garmi; II., Magna Hungaria, in which he defends the historicity of the account of the journey of the Hungarian friars; III., The Etymology of the term Sabartoi asphaloi, in which he rejects the Arabic etymologies advanced for asphaloi (asfalu, *lower*—Marquart, and aswadu, *black*—Darkó), and considers that the word Sabartoi is a lost national name for the Magyars (this seems highly doubtful to the reviewer); IV., The Bulgarian—Greek War and the Magyar 'Landnahme', which deals largely with the date of this conflict.

The general hypothesis that chronologically different accounts have been

joined together is unquestionably correct, even though the reviewer can not agree in all cases with the detailed analysis. Some of these points may be noted. The author (pp. 44–45) has missed the important passage in Zacharias Rhetor, *Hist. Eccl.*, pp. 327–328 (translated by Hamilton and Brooks) about Christianity in the Caucasus. J. Kulakovskii, *Izviestiya ob Alanakh* (Kiev, 1909), gives us most of the material about Christianity in the North Caucasus. The author apparently does not know the valuable book of K. J. Grot, *Moraviya i Mad'yary s poloviny IX do načala X-go veka* (St. Petersburg, 1881). The reference to John Catholicos is from a corrupt text; the passage reads (Tiflis, ed., p. 127), "and thence also going to the canton of Uti (*not* Oudil), he took captive in the village of Tus, Step'anos whom they also called Kon, from whose ancestor Sevik the people (of the) Sevordi were named"; (*ibid.*, p. 130), "Step'anos, who was called Kóněn in the customary vulgar speech".

Mr. Macartney's book is most interesting, stimulating, and a valuable contribution to a thorny and complex topic, though many points must perforce still remain highly controversial. In closing, it should be said that a bibliography would have been most helpful, in view of the widely scattered literature on the subject.

Harvard University. ROBERT P. BLAKE.

El Islam Cristanizado: Estudio del "Sufismo" a través de las Obras de Abenarabi de Murcia. Por MIGUEL ASÍN PALACIOS. Dibujos de Carlos de Miguel. (Madrid: Editorial Plutarco. 1931. Pp. 544.)

ONE of the greatest of the changes in historical studies that have taken place within the life of the present reviewer has been the gradual, if not yet complete, recognition by Western medievalists of all kinds, that in the medieval world the civilization around the Mediterranean was a unity, with actions and reactions, influences and repercussions, from one end to the other, and that the student of that civilization who confines his knowledge to the Western half was cutting off from himself part of the essential evidence and leaving inexplicable certain beginnings and developments. There has long existed a vague and ignorant recognition of what was called "Arab" philosophy and "Arab" science, but it is only within the last twenty or thirty years that the realities of that philosophy and science have gradually become clear. For philosophy, that has been largely due to the labors of the Spanish school of Arabists, and for science, in the very last years, to the first volume of George Sarton's *History of Science*.

But the influences so far recognized have almost always been of the East upon the West. European philosophy and science awoke under the stimulus of Islam; Aristotle reached the West first through Arabic translations. Aquinas, indirectly and unconsciously, was largely under the influence of Al-Ghazzali. All that is coming to be a commonplace with students of history. But there were workings also in the reverse direction

of Christendom upon Islam. As a most puzzling concrete example of this there is in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary an Arabic manuscript containing a translation evidently by a Moslem, of one of the tractates of Paracelsus. We are accustomed to medieval translations from Arabic into Latin, but there were evidently also, if more rarely, translations from Latin into Arabic. This last book by Professor Asín of Madrid does not deal with such reverse translations, but it is an elaborate demonstration of the deep influence on the ascetic-mystical development in Islam which was exercised by the similar religious movement in Christendom. Beginning from the influences undoubtedly exercised by the Christian Fathers and hermits of the desert upon the earliest ascetics and mystics of Islam, he carries the same influence through in detail in connection with the life, experiences, workings, and system of Ibn Arabi of Murcia, one of the greatest of the Moslem mystics and the formative leader of the pantheistic wing of that movement. Ibn Arabi has the distinction of having developed what is essentially animism into an elaborate metaphysical system and of having broken in to the expression of this system the terms and ideas of the religion of Mohammed. The astonishing thing is to see how closely the resultant system, partly by evident borrowing, partly by parallel developments from the same ideas—as in folklore tradition and development everywhere—has come to resemble, or rather to be almost the same as, the ascetic mysticism of the medieval Christian Church. Not so long ago this would have been ascribed to diabolic imitation. Now it is possible for a learned theologian of the Roman Church to trace the details of influence and even to discuss just how and to what extent these ascetic mystics of Islam, accepting a personal God and future retribution, could be reckoned as belonging to the soul if not to the body of the Christian communion. Of course, Ibn Arabi himself and his followers, as animistic pantheists, are beyond a plan of salvation even as wide as this, but it is open to the great mass of the more orthodox theistic mystics of Islam. Unhappily in this case, as in the reverse case of Ibn Arabi's influence upon Dante, the precise paths on which the influences moved have been effaced, but that they must have existed seems to be proved. Massignon's contrary hypothesis of spontaneous origin from similar religious ideas can hardly stand the burden thrown upon it.

In this journal a discussion of the philosophical and theological details of this study and demonstration would be out of place. But it is surely not out of place to draw the attention here of students of history to one of the most curious and important cases of the transmission of ideas. Ideas have their history as surely as events.

Hartford Theological Seminary. D. B. Macdonald.

Origins of the Early English Maritime and Commercial Law. By FREDERIC ROCKWELL SANBORN, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., sometime Carnegie Fellow in International Law, Professor of International Law in Brooklyn Law School of the St. Lawrence University, and in St. John's College School of Law. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1930. Pp. xxii, 424. $4.00.)

MORE than half this book is given to the Continental origins of early English maritime and commercial law. Fixing on the beginning of the sixteenth century as the end of the early period, it is shown that in early days English commerce on the sea was not important and not much encouraged.

The exact dates of the actual putting of laws of the sea in written form, while much discussed by some writers, is less significant than for other laws because local customs in maritime relations grew up even before there was any thought of putting them in general codes. These customs usually took the name of the locality or city and were necessarily in a language which could be easily understood by hardy men of the sea.

As to which collection was the most important there would be difference of opinion, but of the importance of the Rolls of Oléron for English maritime and commercial law there can be no doubt. The laws of Wisby also had a wide influence owing to the extent of the commerce passing through that wealthy and convenient Baltic port.

In the general development of commercial law through medieval markets and fairs, the influence of the contact of the Roman and Germanic peoples and of the commerce of the Italian city states was particularly felt. The widespread guild system, the special protection of foreign merchants and of *consules mercatorum,* and the participation of the Church in control of some commercial activities receive attention, and the interpretation of new principles by the commercial courts shows an international flavor.

In England maritime law was developing, however; at first more particularly for cases involving piracy and spoils, and later for commercial cases. Local courts followed maritime law and custom, and sat upon cases many of which tended to pass to the court of the admiral after the middle of the fourteenth century. This court set up rules and orders and became a court of record. Its restraining influence upon some of the activities of the semipiratical coast population made it unpopular. Many special jurisdictions were set up and these often came in conflict with the admiral's authority.

English commercial law followed the law of Northern Europe. From the tenth century foreign resident merchants appeared. With the coming of William the Conqueror foreign commerce for a time flourished. Hanseatic merchants received privileges in commercial cities. Commercial rival-

ries led to conflicts which revealed the inconsistencies in commercal laws in the early fourteenth century and it was ordained that "henceforth Merchant strangers shall come, abide and go according to the ancient customs, and according to that which of old they were wont to do". With the expansion of English commerce, the maritime and commercial law which had grown up on the Continent was taken over and with modifications adapted to English conditions.

Dr. Sanborn in his presentation of the origins of the early English maritime and commercial law has made a valuable contribution to a field of history which hitherto has been only superficially surveyed, even though existing records suggest many alluring researches.

Harvard University. GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris. Par OLIVIER MARTIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris. Tome II., fascicule 2. [Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Histoire, de Géographie, et d'Économie Urbaines de la Ville de Paris.] (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1930. Pp. viii, 303–655. 70 fr.)

Études de Droit Privé Normand. Par ROBERT GÉNESTAL, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, Professeur Honoraire à la Faculté de Droit de Caen. Tome I., *La Tutelle.* [Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit Normand, deuxième série, Études.] (Caen: L. Jouan et R. Bigot. 1930. Pp. 211. 45 fr.)

WITH the publication of this, the second and last fascicle of volume II., the magisterial work of Olivier Martin on the custom of Paris, which began to appear in 1922 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 99–100; XXXIII. 682–683), comes to completion. The custom of Paris was not, like the Roman and the English laws, destined to become one of the great legal systems of the modern world. Nevertheless it holds a position of unique importance in the legal and institutional history of France. The region in which it developed, *la prévôté et vicomté de Paris,* also contained the seat of the monarchy; and from this center its influence extended far. Moreover, in spite of the long continued influence and competition of the Roman law, the ancient custom of Paris maintained a remarkable vitality and capacity for growth almost down to the Revolution; and it has exercised an influence far greater than is generally realized upon the law of contemporary France as codified in the time of Napoleon. One can not be too grateful, therefore, to M. Martin for his competent survey in 1100 closely packed pages of the development of this great body of customary law from its origin in the early Middle Ages to its decline in the eighteenth century. As the work reaches completion its general usefulness has been greatly enhanced by the addition of a full and careful index.

The present installment of the work contains no important novelty of

method or treatment, and there are no attempts at generalized conclusions at the end. In accordance with the previously announced plan it is mainly taken up with a continuation of the survey of property rights under the general heading of family law; and here once more the importance of the family in customary law receives abundant illustration. A final section of the book deals, in condensed summary, with contracts and other obligations and their enforcement (*obligations et voies d'exécution*), a field in which the influence of Roman law was greater than it was elsewhere.

While Olivier Martin has devoted himself to a comprehensive history of the custom of Paris, the productive detailed research in the rich sources of Norman customary law still goes on in the hands of a group of competent specialists. It has now once more borne fruit in an excellent small volume on the history of the law of guardianship (*la tutelle*) by R. Génestal, who has already distinguished himself by his essay on Norman *parage* (1911) as well as by other important studies. In the present work M. Génestal surveys the development of every aspect of guardianship as it evolved in Norman custom from the early Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. Particularly valuable are the pages devoted to feudal wardship (*la garde seigneuriale*), a subject which can be studied nowhere else from such abundant sources as in Normandy, and to *la tutelle* in the narrower sense of the word, an institution closely resembling the *tutela* of Roman law and destined to be strongly influenced by its Roman analogue, but nevertheless quite distinct from Roman law and of truly customary origin and growth. So far as is known to the reviewer the history of guardianship in the customary law of no other region in Europe has hitherto been treated in a work of such completeness and excellence.

Bryn Mawr College. C. W. David.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Youth of Erasmus. By Albert Hyma, University of Michigan. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, volume X.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1930. Pp. xi, 350. $3.00.)

Since Mestwerdt's profound and illuminating treatise, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus,* was published in 1917 after the author's death on the battlefield, nothing of importance has been added to the study of Erasmus's early life until Professor Hyma undertook a fresh evaluation of the subject. Most of the numerous biographers have been content to work over the material offered by the humanist's letters, a source given undue prominence by its luck in finding exceptionally brilliant editors. Hyma, however, like Mestwerdt, has rightly rejected the legend preserved in these epistles and has sought instead to ascertain the real facts about the scholastic and monastic

environment in which were kindled the ideas that later shone so brightly on the humanist's pages.

The first chapters sketch, with more care and detail than has yet been done, the background of the Netherlands, the wars that devastated the countryside, the religious and intellectual movements then agitating the world. The next chapters recount the story of Erasmus's childhood. Born of what he describes as the "incestuous union" of priest and widow (Hyma omits the crucial word in his translation of the passage on p. 53), the boy was nevertheless loved and cared for by his parents until their too early death. Scrupulous though he generally is in using only the best authority, Hyma falls into the error of crediting the slanders concerning Erasmus's father reported by that consummate liar and libeller, J. C. Scaliger (p. 57). In this connection one may remark that the author generally takes a severe, if not an actually hostile, view of his subject's character, not because he is intent on breaking an idol, but because he is zealous to defend the reputation of the Brethren of the Common Life among whom Erasmus passed his early days and to whom he was later unfair.

This slight blemish on Professor Hyma's work does not lessen the value of the brilliant picture of the Devotio Moderna painted by him. Although the school of Deventer was not, as is commonly thought, one of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, the most famous of Deventer's scholars early came in contact with that attractive form of piety which produced the *Imitatio Christi.* From these devotees Erasmus almost unawares imbibed the Biblicism, the moralism, and the humane liberalism that later distinguished him from the more narrowly dogmatic theologians of the Reformation.

Not from them, however, but from other sources did he drink the deep drafts of classical literature that nourished his intellectual and spiritual life. While the Brethren were slow to read or to teach the classics, Hegius and other masters at Deventer thoroughly imbued the minds of their pupils with the literature of ancient Rome. Among the more recent writers who most influenced him Valla inspired him with a love of pagan philosophy, instructed him in the principles of elegant composition, and sowed in his mind the seeds of doubt.

While yet very young Erasmus began to compose tracts and poems, some of which are here printed for the first time. Though the merits of these pieces do not entitle them to rank with those published by the author himself, they are precious monuments of his early thought. A manuscript in the Gouda City Library, though known to P. S. Allen, and to W. K. Ferguson, is now first copied and published by Professor Hyma. It contains a number of elegies by Erasmus and his friend William Herman, on such subjects as "A Comparison of Sorrow and Joy", "The Power of Cupid", and "A Bucolic Idyll". Still more interesting, perhaps, is the publication of a first draft of the *Antibarbari,* differing importantly from

the revised edition printed during the author's lifetime. This original version lacks the invective against the monks that has hitherto supported the legend of the youth's early disgust with monasticism.

Notwithstanding occasional obscurities, misinterpretations of data, and small errors, Professor Hyma has put all students of his much studied subject into his debt. If he continues to write the life of Erasmus on the same scale and with the same pains, we shall at last have, in many volumes, a definitive biography.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Histoire de Rome: le Pontificat de Léon X., 1513–1521. Par E. RODOCANACHI, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette. 1931. Pp. 308. 110 fr.)

THE title "History of Rome" is a bit of a misnomer, as in the predecessors of this volume which have been reviewed in this journal (XXXI. 758; XXXIV. 577), for we have to do with the history of a pope, and not especially in his relations with Rome. More than half of the volume is taken up with the general course of the reign. It is a book for the reader and not for the student, in spite of the long bibliography and abundant footnotes, even in spite of the appendixes of documents, including a sheaf relating to the marriage of the parents of Catherine de' Medici. The notes contain curious information, as the best notes should, on such material as the sort of field glass used by Leo, whom equally credible authorities assert to have been weak of vision and remarkably able to distinguish objects at a distance; the brief, promising to Henry VIII. the crown of France in 1512, which Cardinal Bainbridge pocketed when Henry married Mary Tudor; and the letter from the courtesan, Beatrice of Ferrara, to the younger Lorenzo the Magnificent, in which she tells of having confessed to an Augustinian who spends all his time hearing such as she, who are his specialty. In the bibliography, Rodocanachi has not overlooked anything of importance to a good book of this kind, and even the omission of Roscoe and of Gregorovius in the list is redeemed by their citation in the body of the book. There are manuscript sources also in the bibliography. Perhaps a popular sketch of the reign of Leo X. might better await the conclusion of the researches of Picotti, based as these are on original sources exclusively; but this one is agreeable reading except for such incoherence as is to be encountered in the pages which purport to treat of "L'Affaire de Parme" (pp. 258–261). Form and finish are of great elegance, and the illustrations are excellent, and even unusual (*e.g.*, those of Cardinal Bibiena's bathroom and the frescoes with which Raphael decorated it, here reproduced by especial courtesy shown to the author). It is a pity that the text is not free from misprints. Somewhat artificially "Laurent" the Magnificent is distinguished from "Lorenzo" the Magnificent, father of Catherine de' Medici.

The general reader probably is interested not only in the generosity of the pope who condemned Luther, in his devotion to music, his pleasing voice, his fondness for hunting, but also in his attitude toward the Reformation, his relation to letters and art, his rôle in the struggle between Hapsburg and Valois. Rodocanachi believes in Leo's real appreciation of art and artists; it was his poverty (which he sought to relieve not only by the creation of an unprecedented number of cardinals in 1517, but also, it may be, by prosecuting the "conspirators" in the Sacred College) which hampered him in playing the part of his father. Three chapters (XII.–XIV.) are consecrated to the activities of artists and men of letters at the court of Leo, when "Rome devenait, comme au temps d'Auguste, le centre intellectuel et artistique du monde" (p. 196), although "la plupart des grands écrivains de l'époque travaillèrent hors de Rome" (p. 203). In the reform of the Church, although the Lateran Council sat further from 1513 to 1517, the pope was thwarted by the "astuteness" with which those who demanded reform prevented its realization. Four bulls are cited as the sop he offered to Cerberus in this connection (pp. 149–150). Of the Lutheran problem there is no discussion, and nothing of note in the conventional pages on "La réforme en Italie" (pp. 150–153). Leo's part in the struggle between Hapsburg and Valois was determined by his plans for his house. Leo played the old game of courting both sides, apparently abandoning the sincere desire for peace with which the author credits him when he recalled the Lateran Council. Very conveniently does Rodocanachi list the treaties of 1516–1519, throughout the course of which the pope tried to secure for himself the sovereignty of Italy.

Leo was amenable to influence (especially that of his cousin Giulio, later Clement VII.); indolent (but also, it must be remembered, the victim of a chronic ailment), and at the same time resolute in the accomplishment of his duty. His chastity was almost notorious.

The University of Idaho. FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Von Dr. HENRI SÉE, Professor an der Universität Rennes. Band I. [Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Brodnitz, Professor der Staatswissenschaften in Halle a. S.] (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1930. Pp. 434. 18 M.)

THE present volume deals primarily with the period from 1500 to 1789. Kötzschke's study of the Middle Ages, published in this series some years ago, covered the Middle Ages for Europe as a whole, and in consequence only two short chapters are devoted to medieval problems. The Revolution and the nineteenth century are to be treated in a subsequent volume.

The views of Professor Sée have been so extensively developed in his recent writing that this volume will contain little that is novel to those

familiar with his work. The text is closely related to two published studies: the *Esquisse d'une Histoire Économique et Sociale de la France* (1929), and *L'Évolution Commerciale et Industrielle de la France* (1925). In general, the chapters on agrarian problems cover much the same ground as the chapters in the *Esquisse,* though with additions to both text and notes; the chapters on industry and commerce include a considerable amount of material that is closely related to the text of the *Évolution Commerciale et Industrielle de la France,* in addition to the topics discussed in the *Esquisse.* The present text is thus in substance a revised and enlarged edition of the *Esquisse.* One hesitates to attempt any appraisal of the merits of the work of translation; to a foreigner, it seems to be adequate and careful. The more difficult administrative and legal terms are commonly given in French as well as in German so that no significant ambiguity or inaccuracy can arise.

The changes in the scale of the narrative are certainly a genuine improvement. The *Esquisse* leaves one with many regrets that the author did not allow himself more space. The longer work on industry and commerce includes much material that is scarcely necessary for the general student. The present text strikes a happy mean in the compass of the narrative and gives us by far the best one volume account of the economic history of France now available for this period.

Although the work of Levasseur will continue to be useful for many years, the rapid accumulation of monographic work is inevitably modifying our views on many of the more difficult controversial problems. It is, therefore, a great advance in historical scholarship that is marked by this careful survey of the newest work. There are also a number of important developments of interpretation in Professor Sée's work. France is placed in its general European setting by brief sketches of the economic development in other countries. Industrial organization is described in terms of the categories used in England and in Germany. The estimates of the work of Colbert and of the reign of Louis XIV. in its entirety disclose important changes in point of view. The problems of the eighteenth century are handled with vigor and breadth. But Professor Sée's views on these matters are too well known to require extended statement or discussion.

Harvard University. Abbott Payson Usher.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Europe. Volume XXXI., 1657–1659. Edited by ALLEN B. HINDS, M.A. [Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1931. Pp. liv, 396. £1 10 s.)

THE new volume in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* covers the period from January, 1657, to March, 1659, and has for its major source reports by the Venetian Resident in England, Francesco Giavarina. Giavarina was kept in office throughout these months, and for some further years, despite his wish to be relieved, a circumstance which must have caused him much hardship, for though he alleged no more than ordinary reasons for recall, it is plain that he was out of sympathy with the English scene in which he found himself. He was unhappy in his associations with the Cromwellian government, being distressed by its anti-Catholicism, its aggressiveness, and, perhaps most, by its chilliness toward representatives of foreign states.

It was therefore difficult for him to avoid adverse comment upon the events which passed before him, and, at first thought, the notion arises that he was too prejudiced to serve as a good reporter. Mr. Hinds, the editor, counters this opinion by saying of Giavarina, "if he looks with jaundiced eyes, he may probably be trusted to give a faithful record according to his lights. His independent, disinterested testimony is of particular value, as compared, for example, with the distorted mediums of the official announcements of a revolutionary government, or the propaganda of its opponents." But that takes us too far on the other side. Giavarina was obstinate, even pig-headed, in discussing some phases of contemporary affairs, because his habit was to form an opinion when events were in an early stage of development and thereafter to put the meanest interpretation on the news, like a melancholy old woman.

Consider his treatment of Cromwell's attitude toward the offer of the kingship. He began by saying that Cromwell "knows he will be king", and added that all hesitation by Cromwell was but trickery to lure Parliament into making such an offer that he might avoid suspicion of self-seeking. When the army supported Cromwell in his refusal of the kingship, Giavarina wrote of him as of a thwarted office seeker, and to fill out the story he added comment from time to time. "These last particulars clearly show Cromwell's ambition for the royal title, so that he can not refrain from expressing it clearly and openly, calling the present act merely an introduction for the re-establishment of the government." Thus he wrote on June 8, 1657, some time after the kingship had been offered and refused, and in mid-July he was still harping on the same theme, as he

described the ceremony of investing Cromwell with the office of Protector: "He lacked nothing but the crown to appear a veritable king, and no doubt if he lives, it will be placed on his head, and so he will have what he could not get this time, considerably to his disappointment."

But Giavarina's prejudices were not all inclusive, and there remained a variety of topics, notably the prospects of Richard's protectorate, upon which his observation was acute and his comment dispassionate.

Cornell University. F. G. MARCHAM.

William the Third and the Defence of Holland, 1672–1674. By MARY CAROLINE TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xii, 359. $7.50.)

THE historical world will welcome this first work of importance from the pen of Professor G. M. Trevelyan's daughter. The period chosen must have been early and well known to her; hence, one supposes, her at-homeness in it, the ease and certainty of her narrative, usual only to experienced scholarship. Another personal advantage has been Miss Trevelyan's friendships in Holland, which have secured access to private archives and facilitated her researches in public collections. Under the guidance of these Dutch friends the author has studied the topography of the country traversed by the French advance, and the course of the inundations that checked it. Her descriptions constitute a valuable and original feature of the book, there being, as far as I know, no account in English of this extraordinary campaign comparable in accuracy and clarity to that given by Miss Trevelyan. It is helpfully illustrated by three good maps.

The title suggests one of the difficulties encountered by the author: how far is this story to be treated as a part of the biography of William III., and how far as a military crisis in the life of the republic? But the perplexities must have gone beyond this: what must be said of the ambitions of Louis XIV.? Of the foreign policy of England? Of the intricacies of the Spanish Succession? And, within the republic, what of the struggle of factions in Holland, and of the career and tragic end of De Witt? The United Provinces were the focus of European relations in 1672, but they were also, though foreign historians have little interest in this aspect, real country ravaged and laid waste. With all this clamorous history in search of an historian Miss Trevelyan has compromised with conspicuous skill. For her the central figure is the young prince, the central events are those of the summer of 1672, and the scene is the meadows, canals, villages, and forts on the Rhine, the Maas, and the Ijssel. Diplomatic backgrounds are sketched in vigorously but summarily, more attention being given to English than to French relations with the republic. Practically no mention is made of commercial issues, and Miss Trevelyan seems not to have read Dr. S. Elzinga's *Het Voorspel van den Oorlog van 1672*. Though her sympathy and interest are for the Prince of Orange, she shares the Dutch

veneration for De Witt, a veneration merited, in the reviewer's opinion, less for foresight and practical statesmanship than for patriotism and great intellectual powers.

A few statements may be questioned. The amount to be paid by Louis XIV. for the conversion of Charles II. is differently stated on pages 69 and 87. On page 107 it is said that the War of 1672 was not unpopular in England, but on the following page, without intervening explanation, it is called unpopular. The interest paid by Charles II. on money borrowed was usually not eight per cent. (p. 108), but ten per cent. or more. No English auxiliaries were sent to join the French army in 1672 (p. 149), though there were Scottish regiments in the French forces. The Duke of Monmouth fought at Maastricht as a volunteer.

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle: his Early Political Career, 1693–1724. By STEBELTON H. NULLE, New York University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 204. $2.50.)

HISTORIANS of England in the eighteenth century have long wanted a life of the Duke of Newcastle. No other man was the center of so much that went on for the first fifty years after the accession of the house of Hanover. Materials for his biography are available in a mass so great as to deter any but the young and courageous. Dr. Nulle's study is thus a prelude to a work which may well last through a long life. His success in the early period, where the personal papers are scantiest, should encourage him to go on. His first installment ends with the appointment of Newcastle as secretary of state in 1724.

For this period Dr. Nulle confirms the verdict of others who have delved into the Newcastle Papers, that the duke deserves better treatment than he has received at the hands of writers depending too much on Horace Walpole and Lord Hervey, and unsympathetic with the political atmosphere of the eighteenth century. He reveals to us a wealthy young nobleman, keenly interested in public affairs, endowed with some talents for statesmanship, and ready to risk his fortune or his life for causes he enlisted to support. These conclusions indicate that Dr. Nulle has insight to appreciate the human qualities in his subject; his sanity saves him from the pitfalls of hero worship. He writes with conscious regard for literary effect, although the studied care with which his chapters begin is not always sustained throughout.

Two weaknesses should be remedied in further work on the subject. Newcastle was so essentially a politician that his life needs to be seen against a background of political history. Perhaps the most successful chapter in Dr. Nulle's book is that dealing with the ministry of Stanhope and

Sunderland, where his grasp of political events seems to be firmest. The chapters on Political Apprenticeship, 1714–1716, and Newcastle becomes Walpole's Lieutenant are less convincing, largely because some of the circumstances (*e.g.*, the influence of the South Sea Company) remain dark. A more serious weakness is the failure to utilize adequately newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. Being relics of the factional controversy of the period, they are the best evidence of its character. It is only fair to say, however, that the time necessary for acquiring skill in the use of this material and for the elucidation of obscure political points might have been so great as to prevent the use of this subject as a doctoral dissertation. We should thus have lacked this monograph as evidence of the author's apprenticeship to his task. So good a beginning is a token of his ability for even better performance should he devote to the subject the labor and thought of maturer years.

Duke University. W. T. Laprade.

Les Démocrates Belges de 1789: Étude sur le Vonckisme et la Révolution Brabançonne. Par Suzanne Tassier, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Professeur au Lycée Émile Max. (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin. 1930. Pp. 479.)

The Belgian democrats of 1789 and their leader, J. F. Vonck, waited long for their historian, but they lost nothing by the waiting. Dr. Suzanne Tassier has produced a model monograph that fully deserved the honor conferred upon it by the Royal Academy of Belgium. Some of the reflected glory falls on Professor F. van Kallen, who "initiated her into historical method and suggested the idea of the book". The volume is an excellent piece of work, thorough in research, critical in the use of the sources, detailed and comprehensive in its presentation. One closes the book with the feeling that here is a definitive treatment of an important subject, a trustworthy piece of scholarly work that not only gives a concrete and colorful presentation of the Belgian revolution of 1789, but shows it in its European setting, in its relation to the revolutionary movement in France on the one side and in Holland on the other.

A careful examination of the imposing bibliography justifies the conclusion that little material, either source or secondary, escaped the patient search of Dr. Tassier. Documents, newspapers, letters, pamphlets, and memoirs are found among the printed sources, and the archives of Belgium and France were laid under tribute for the large mass of manuscript material used. The very full footnotes that crowd the pages give proof of the critical care with which the narrative was built up.

The volume opens with an excellent chapter on the *Ancien Régime* in the Belgian provinces, without which the course of the revolution would be unintelligible. The conclusion of the chapter is that feudalism in the

Low Countries was moderate, mild, and popular, and "did not present the marks of decrepitude as in France"; that "any attempt to apply new philosophical ideas would have more chances of success in Hainaut and Flanders than in Brabant, where the *Ancien Régime,* still very solid, could offer serious resistance".

The awakening of public spirit in the Belgian provinces of Austria was due to the influence of the American, Dutch, and, above all, to the French Revolution. The French influence penetrated in the form of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, and the second chapter is a model for the treatment of the manner in which public opinion was shaped through the press. One of the happiest thoughts was to trace the influence of French ideas on the clergy by the examination of the books in private libraries. One of the most striking points brought out was that the University of Louvain and the Royal and Imperial Academy of Brussels had no part "either in the formation or in the propagation of political and social ideas of a reformatory character", and that "this attitude was in keeping with the spirit of the Belgians who are not naturally innovators".

The revolution, at the outset, resembled more the American Revolution than the French. The aim was to free the Belgian provinces from a foreign rule and all classes took part in the uprising that accomplished its end with no great difficulty. The success of the movement was due chiefly to the middle class group under the leadership of J. F. Vonck, the privileged classes coöperating. When the Austrians had withdrawn, the privileged classes took possession of power after an interesting struggle with the Vonckists, which is narrated with much detail and skill. In this struggle the Vonckists succumbed. The party of reform, defeated in the struggle with the privileged classes and expelled from the country, turned to Austria, helped to bring about a restoration in the hope that through Austria a reformed government might be secured. But here again they were disappointed and exiled for a second time. It was a tragic outcome of a promising attempt at social reform, and Dr. Tassier's presentation brings out all its local and general significance in a striking manner.

The University of Nebraska. Fred Morrow Fling.

The Leeds Woollen Industry, 1780–1820. Edited by W. B. Crump, M.A. (Leeds: Thoresby Society. 1931. Pp. xi, 343. 16 s.)

In his old age, Joseph Rogerson, a Yorkshire mill owner, re-read the diary he had kept during the years 1808–1814, and wrote on the inside cover: "Take as much pains to keep these Books as I have to write them." His descendants did as they were bid, and in 1928 handed the diary over to the Thoresby Society, a Leeds historical organization. About the same time the descendants of Benjamin Gott, the Leeds pioneer textile factory builder, gave to Leeds University such fragmentary papers as had survived from the business records of the Grand Old Man of Yorkshire's cloth

industry. Aided by the librarian and the textile experts of the university, Mr. Crump has edited these two gifts, and produced a masterly study of the industry during the transition period from domestic to factory system. The study and the documents stop at 1820, when the industry is still in midstream; it limits its scope to those aspects on which the papers throw light, so there is nothing about the rise of towns, growth of population, migration, or the emergence of social problems. We see the industry from the inside, through the windows of mill and countinghouse; but we see it very clearly, and the Harvard enthusiasts for business history will rejoice at this transatlantic addition to their ranks.

Rogerson and Gott represent two phases of the industrial transition. Rogerson was a farmer, fuller, and drysalter. To his fulling mill the domestic clothiers brought their pieces to be cleaned, paying him a fee for his service. But when Lancashire developed scribbling, carding, and slubbing machines to prepare raw cotton for spinning, Rogerson and his like installed these machines in order to prepare the clothier's wool as well as clean his cloth. The scribbling miller thus took his place alongside the flour miller and fuller as a local public utility; the clothiers were his customers, and took advantage of him to gain relief from the burden of preparing the wool themselves. They dovetailed the new machines into their small scale domestic system, but kept the spinning and weaving at home, thus making the best of the old world and the new.

Gott went on other lines. As a large scale merchant he bought and finished large quantities of raw cloth from the clothiers; but in addition he began to make certain high grades of cloth himself. His huge factory, established in 1792, therefore gathered within its gates all the twenty-nine processes involved in turning a bale of wool into finished pieces, and he soon had a thousand names on his pay roll. He bought the new machines as Rogerson did; he bought a large Boulton and Watt engine to work them and his fulling stocks; but all the rest of his work, about twenty-three processes in all, was done by hand with human power till at least 1820, and weaving did not become a power process till after 1850. His factory was thus a device for better organization rather than for the use of new equipment; he saved time by gathering handworkers together, he secured better discipline and adhesion to higher standards of workmanship and product, and he was able to study and reduce costs. He shows that the factory system was not solely the product of machinery and steam power, and he continued to work harmoniously with the independent domestic clothiers of the outlying villages.

An excellent piece of editing, good illustrations, and well chosen extracts combine to give a remarkable picture of an industry, a region, and a period. Would that other local historical organizations would do likewise.

The University of Minnesota. HERBERT HEATON.

A History of the Peninsular War. By CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Fellow of the British Academy, Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, Chichele Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Volume VII., *August, 1813–April 14, 1814: the Capture of St. Sebastian, Wellington's Invasion of France, Battles of the Nivelle, the Nive, Orthez, and Toulouse.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xii, 574. $11.75.)

WITH this seventh volume of his *History of the Peninsular War* Sir Charles Oman has brought his great work to a close, nearly thirty years after taking up the task. The recent death of Professor Channing with his *magnum opus* still unfinished has brought vividly to mind the hazards faced by the historian who begins a project that must require decades of work. Professor Oman is to be congratulated on having been able to complete his study during a period that has seen many and varied demands upon his time and attention.

This last volume covers the months from the siege of St. Sebastian to the end of the war. Even to those with some knowledge of the Peninsular War, this stage of the struggle is less familiar than the earlier periods. It seems to lack a little of the desperate drama to be found in the years when the very existence of the British army in the Peninsula was at stake. During the interval covered by the seventh volume we can not feel that the fate of Napoleon depended so largely upon the success of Wellington as it had at an earlier period.

The lessening of the dramatic tension should not blind us, however, to the fact that some of the most interesting moments of the war are to be found in this period. Soult was certainly the most redoubtable opponent whom Wellington had met since Masséna and the French no longer suffered from the strain of occupying a hostile country. The closeness of the contest is testified to by the unwillingness of Wellington, as pointed out by Professor Oman, to commit himself to an invasion of France until he could be certain that Napoleon would not send large reënforcements to Soult.

Soult remains something of an enigma. Repeatedly he formed plans of high merit and carried them almost to the point of success, only to meet failure in the end. Professor Oman explains it as a lack of tactical ability on his part which often marred the conclusion of a well laid scheme. But Professor Oman's story also impresses one with another factor in Soult's failure, the fact that his troops had become convinced they could not win. Wellington reaped the harvest of his long succession of victories. Time and again crises of battle arose where the student must feel convinced that a little more optimism on the part of the French rank and file would at least have altered the fortunes of the moment at that particular place. That

the moral factor decided the campaign would perhaps push the argument too far, but had French confidence not fallen to so low an ebb a closer struggle must have taken place before the achievement of final British victory.

Inevitably there will be some differences of opinion with the author on certain details, but it would be useless to attempt to single them out here. Professor Oman bases his opinions upon a close personal inspection of the field of operations, the results of which he has used excellently to give a sense of reality to his description of events. Good maps also help the reader, although occasionally they are a little difficult to follow because of the fact that the troops are labeled according to the commander of the brigade whereas the text uses the name of the division commander. But it would be captious to focus attention upon a few minor faults such as are to be found in any volume. Professor Oman has accomplished a great work and those familiar with his *History of the Peninsular War* and with the various by-products of that study will take leave of this concluding volume with real regret.

Swarthmore College. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Jérôme Napoléon et la Pologne en 1812. Par ABEL MANSUY, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 704. 80 fr.)

FEW would consider Jerome Bonaparte a person of any great importance. From his arrival in Poland on April 10, 1812, till his departure from Warsaw on June 17 to take the field, sixty-nine days elapsed. For this limited subject, the author has explored various archives in France, Poland, and Russia, and utilized 150 primary sources and 107 secondary works carefully listed in his bibliography and repeatedly cited in 2140 footnotes. As the reader toils through the forest of pages he asks himself frequently whether the subject merits such lavish scholarship, and when, at long last, he peruses the closing ten page summary, he escapes with difficulty the conlusion that there is little of importance not adequately presented in these final paragraphs. Some reflection, however, reveals the unfairness of such an impatient judgment. The real topic and significant contribution of the volume is the exposition of the Polish situation as the fateful prelude to the disastrous Russian campaign.

Napoleon, according to M. Mansuy, had never acquainted himself with the Polish problem. He was too preoccupied in 1812 with major concerns to spare time for its mastery; and he failed, amid the pressure of launching the campaign, to consult the two individuals, Jerome and Bignon, who could have given him the latest, fullest, and most accurate information. Consequently he committed the fatal error of allowing himself to be lured into Russia without establishing thorough political and military control of Poland in order to provide there a secure base for operations and an invulnerable bulwark against attack. Page after page reveals the hopeless

weakness of the administration of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; the utter fatuity of the Polish factions, conspicuously the Czartoryski; the complete blindness to the ominous gulf between the Polish nobles and their peasants; the bedeviling activities of the Prussians; the duplicity of the Austrians; the peril of heterogeneity in the Napoleonic army; the paralyzing jealousies and recriminations among the marshals and generals; the consequent dilapidation of discipline; and, most notorious, the scarcity of food and fodder and the hopeless confusion and criminal blundering of the commissariat.

Every element in the situation clamored for the omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence of the imperial master. Fortune had been prodigal to Napoleon but these qualities were not hers to bestow. The retrospective Napoleon at St. Helena should have blamed his undoing not only upon "the Spanish ulcer" but also upon the Polish canker. Alas, the hero has been forgotten! M. Mansuy, too, forgets him for pages at a time, but he makes a good and convincing case in Jerome's favor—Masson and other oracles to the contrary. Though M. Mansuy is of the opinion that Napoleon chose wisely in putting Jerome at the post of difficulty, and that the emperor did not support him fairly or use him discreetly, yet he confesses that it is precisely on the question of the relations between the two brothers that the documents are scantiest.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814–1830. By FREDERICK A. ARTZ, Oberlin College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 443. $4.50.)

THIS latest addition to the rather meager list of recent studies by American scholars on the history of nineteenth century France is most welcome. It will be a boon to teachers and graduate students not only because of the material that it contains but also because of the splendid bibliographies that form a part of each chapter.

The arrangement that Professor Artz has selected for his treatment is novel and commendable. He has not attempted a running narrative history of the fifteen years of the Restoration. Instead, he has divided his consideration of the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. into topical chapters: The Beginnings of a Modern Parliamentary Government in France, The Clerical Question, The Rise of a New Economic Order, The State of Society, and The Romantic Revolt. In his selection of titles the author has been very happy and, by the divisions that he has made, he provides a clear and lucid discussion of the Restoration viewed from its different significant aspects. By far the most important chapters are those relating to politics, to a new economic order, and to the state of French society during the years from 1815 to 1830.

To Professor Artz, the Restoration is not a period when politics and

government were marking time. On the contrary, even Villèle, although a reactionary, used new methods. And, above all else, French public opinion was receiving such a schooling in politics and in political ideas as it had never had before. This is the true political importance of the Restoration and it is one which has been too frequently ignored. The new journalism entered into the movement with tremendous vigor and even lecture platforms became political tribunes.

In his discussion of the economic development of France, the author has consciously or unconsciously followed the leads that Pierre de La Gorce had suggested in an earlier work. Until comparatively recently, too little stress has been laid on this aspect of French development. It was commonly believed that, with the Revolution, the change that had been begun was interrupted and that it was not resumed until the July Monarchy came into being. Professor Artz begins with the thesis of a fairly continuous development during the Revolution of 1789 and the empire that followed it, and then goes on to show that this same movement gained in momentum during the Restoration. While France remained preponderantly agricultural, the banker and the industrial capitalist became significant enough to play an important rôle in public life and to impress the necessities of their interests upon political consideration when the reign of Charles X. was nearing its end.

This economic transformation had its effects upon the social structure of France. Beside the old aristocracy there appeared the new plutocracy. And, in turn, this new aristocracy, like its predecessor, came to have its dependents, the working classes. From these difficulties new schools of social and economic thought developed.

There is very little to criticize in the way of the content of this book. Author and reviewer rarely agree on all points but, in this instance, the few matters of disagreement are minor affairs. The reviewer does not sympathize entirely in so absolute a separation of Liberalism and Romanticism as Professor Artz portrays. Madame de Staël, the mother of the Romantic Movement, was a liberal by inheritance and by conviction, and her influence over Benjamin Constant, one of the leaders of the Left, is believed by many critics to-day to have been very powerful. Recent French authors date the emergence of the Romantic School from Chateaubriand's dismissal from public life which was anterior, by one year, to the formation of Nodier's Cénacle. In discussing the place of Mignet, too little stress has been laid upon his public lectures. Contemporary accounts bear witness to the fact that these lectures on history were the most popular of the time, for the severe, critical lectures of Guizot had been suspended by government orders. Mignet's historical writings as well as his articles in the *Constitutionnel* contributed much to the ideas of that group of politicians known as the "School of 1688".

These instances and others that need not be mentioned are, however,

mere differences of opinion and should not be interpreted as affecting, in any way, the high quality of the book.

In the opinion of the reviewer, this work has but one serious weakness. The Restoration would lend itself easily to a more vivid treatment. At times the chapters lag. There are sentences that are too long, and, sometimes, the style is turgid. In short, this volume by Professor Artz is not brilliantly written but it is a scholarly, profound, and reliable study of the Restoration, the first in its field in English that is worthy of serious consideration.

Yale University. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. By FRED H. HITCHINS, Department of History, New York University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. xviii, 344. $3.00.)

THIS monograph describes an interesting experiment in British colonial administration. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as everyone knows, the reformers under Gibbon Wakefield's leadership directed against the colonial office and its policies a steady stream of criticism. This, though exaggerated, was well informed, and very effective. In establishing the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, the government was attempting to adjust both policy and administration along the lines laid down in Wakefield's numerous encyclicals, by setting up a body of experts auxiliary but subordinate to the colonial office. "Stephen suggested it and Russell carried it through, but certainly the propaganda of Wakefield and his friends inspired it." Dr. Hitchins presents a very complete account of this hitherto rather obscure body—its history, organization, functions, and policy.

The commission, a combination of certain antecedent agencies, was established in 1840 and remained in existence until 1878. Those were difficult times for imperial statesmen because the prevailing political and economic ideas created colonial problems of the first magnitude. The commissioners "certainly were not lacking variety in the duties which they performed". Their main functions were to advise the colonial office when required to do so, to supply intending settlers with accurate and disinterested information about the colonies, to control the sale of unsettled crown lands elsewhere than in British North America, and to supervise as far as possible the actual process of migration. The author thinks, and submits ample evidence to support his opinion, that the commission contributed notably to the solution of contemporary problems.

The book fails to discriminate sufficiently between the important and the trivial. Chapter III. (Organization and Personnel) is largely a conscientious chronicling of small beer. The author seems to possess that almost morbid interest in emoluments so noticeable in income tax officials, and thirty-seven pages contain more than a hundred and fifty separate

references to salaries, wages, and pensions. The use of footnotes is versatile and valuable, but immoderate, several chapters averaging more than three footnotes to the page. The style is businesslike and clear, though not graceful. Abstract nouns are used overmuch. Too many dead men are referred to as "Mr. So-and-So," while "Governor-General Dufferin", "Secretary Grey", and others, are given a kind of functional baptism after the manner of a certain well-known periodical.

Necessarily this work is largely based on the colonial office documents at the Public Record Office. Material in colonial archives was not used and does not seem to have been needed. The bibliography is adequate and well arranged. Little use appears to have been made of periodicals, and no reference is made to the second volume of Knowles's *Economic Development*. There are twelve appendixes consisting mainly of interesting statistical tables.

The subject deserved detailed study, and this book is a very scholarly and opportune piece of research, a mine of accurate and well arranged information, and a distinct contribution to knowledge.

The University of Western Ontario. GILBERT TUCKER.

Preussen im Krimkrieg, 1853–1856. Von KURT BORRIES, Privatdozent an der Universität Tübingen. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1930. Pp. x, 420. 15 M.)

OUTSIDE of Germany, the period of Prussian history from the 'humiliation of Olmütz' in December, 1850, to the beginning of the constitutional conflict in the early 1860's is generally passed over with scant attention. It lacks the stirring movement of the Revolution of 1848, the threat of international conflict of 1850, and the obvious interest of the heroic age of German unification. We all know what this period meant in the development of Bismarck; how in it he matured from an ultraconservative *Junker* to a statesman of European magnitude; how his knowledge of German and European politics deepened; how he came to know the obstacles in the way of Germany's national ambitions and the methods by which these obstacles could be overcome. Borries's study of Prussian policy and politics during the Crimean War points to the fact that Prussia was going through an analogous development.

Supplementing the previous studies of limited phases of the subject with a mass of unused material from the official and unofficial documents in the Prussian State Archives, Borries has given us a detailed and well balanced account of the interplay of personalities and party groups in the ruling circle of Prussia. Little is added to our knowledge of Prussia's relations with her neighbors. A. O. Meyer's view of the way in which Austria attempted to use Prussia but not to accept her as an equal in Germany and in Europe is confirmed; a few additional details of Frederick William's special missions to Paris, London, and Vienna are brought

out; a number of minor controversies are settled. The chief contribution of the book is the penetrating survey of the struggle between the moderate liberal Anglophile and the ultraconservative Russophile groups for the control of Prussian policy and of the relation of the king to the formation of that policy. The party conflict reached its climax with the breach between the king and his brother, the Prince of Prussia. The triumph of the Russophiles seemed to be confirmed by the recall of Bunsen from the legation at London. This incident, which has often been represented as the throwing of a liberal lamb to the wolves of the *Camarilla,* is proven conclusively to have been in reality the well deserved and long overdue punishment of a diplomat who persisted in misunderstanding or in disregarding the policy laid down in his instructions. Between the two groups, Frederick William IV. steered a course of determined neutrality. In Borries's opinion, the king deserves more credit than he has generally received for keeping Prussia out of the war. Nevertheless, this neutrality was not due to the king's statesmanship; on the contrary, his diplomatic and extradiplomatic activities tended to compromise it. The royal policy showed only occasional flashes of the political insight that marked Bismarck's plans to make use of Prussia's position between the contending groups of powers. Buol, in throwing away the friendship of Russia for Austria, contributed more to the ultimate value of Prussian neutrality than did Frederick William.

For the reader whose interest lies mainly in the succeeding decade of Prussian history, Borries's conclusions as to the importance of the Crimean War period as a prelude to the later era are suggestive and worth further development. A sequel on similar lines for the period from 1856 to 1862 would fill an obvious gap. Bismarck was not the only Prussian statesman who was influenced by participation in the politics of the 1850's, and the contrast between the Prussia of Frederick William IV. and of William I. is illuminating and significant.

The University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

The Concert of Europe. By R. B. MOWAT, Professor of History in the University of Bristol, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 368. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR MOWAT'S capacity for synthetic presentation and his skillful use of color are generally known and admirably illustrated in this useful volume. He can summarize accurately complicated negotiations, explain the gist of a diplomatic problem, and dramatize the significance of opposing forces in a surprisingly small number of words. He is also an adept at the use of quotation. Diplomatic issues are never abstract, as he presents them, and diplomats are human beings and not mere pieces on a chessboard. Hence the value of this lucid exposition of European inter-

national relations from the Treaty of Frankfort to the outbreak of the World War, a value which will appeal to the historian looking for suggestive interpretation of well-known facts and to the lay reader who, without much knowledge of the facts, wants to know how the war started. The author maintains the sequence and the clarity of the narrative by utilizing the idea of the Concert of Europe as the continuous thread running through all the chapters. He shows how after the bankruptcy of the idea, during the period of stress that culminated in the formation of the German Empire, the "international" of monarchs took up the responsibility for averting war. The crisis of 1875 brought about a demand for the renewal of the Concert, which because of exigencies in the Near East became again actually operative. After 1882 it might have been possible for the diplomatic combination organized by Bismarck to develop into a league of all the great powers. The principle of concert was accepted in the handling of problems on the fringes of the Near East, in Africa, in the calling of the first Hague Conference, in the Far East. But the division of Europe into two diplomatic groups, although it did not make the functioning of the Concert impossible, made it much more difficult. The diplomatic conflict between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente steadily weakened the Concert, until finally in 1914, in a crisis probably not more dangerous than others that had been successfully passed, the Concert was destroyed.

The author's bias will be regarded by historians of the left wing as definitely anti-German, but even his critics will admit that this bias is intellectual and not emotional in character. He makes plain the services rendered by the Concert in the preservation of the peace of Europe and underlines the failure of Germany to contribute to the development of the idea. Bismarck never really believed in the internationalists' conception of Europe. "Germany", he wrote, "resolutely opposes this unsupportable fiction." More disastrous was the failure of Bülow and Holstein to accept the advances made by Great Britain, which might have prevented the division of Europe into approximately equal armed camps. Finally it was Germany, pacific in intent but blind to the actual international situation, who ensured the rejection of the proposals made in the crisis of 1914 that would have revived the operation of the Concert.

Yale University. CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Bernhard Fürst von Bülow, Denkwürdigkeiten. Herausgegeben von FRANZ VON STOCKHAMMERN. Vier Bände. (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein. 1930–1931. Pp. xiii, 634; xv, 531; x, 433; xiii, 732. 17 M. each.)

Memoirs of Prince von Bülow. Translated from the German by F. A. VOIGT. Volume I., *From Secretary of State to Imperial Chancellor, 1897–1903.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1931. Pp. xxv, 751. $5.00.)

FOR several years before his death in November, 1929, Prince von Bülow had occupied his long vacant hours in the Hotel Adlon in dictating his memoirs. The habit of dictation, which he began as a young embassy attaché, has, as he recognizes (II. 237 f.), its advantages and disadvantages: it trains the rapid collection and expression of thoughts and so contributes to success in extempore debate (and Bülow was one of the most successful speakers to whom the Reichstag ever listened); but it also tends to irrelevance and long-windedness. Some readers may think that these four large volumes suffer from the latter fault. The present reviewer, however, has found them interesting throughout, though he would have been gladly spared some of the innumerable biographical and genealogical digressions and the nauseating repetition of venomous attacks upon the author's political contemporaries and successors, even though they are enlivened by clever but malicious anecdotes.

Bülow had an extraordinarily good memory, even as an old man between seventy and eighty, and his memoirs appear to flow mainly out of his store of recollections. He seems to have made very little use of *Die Grosse Politik*, the publication of which he disapproved and tried to prevent. Its chief editor, Dr. Thimme, he regards as one of the "two most naïve men politically whom I have met in my long life". Dr. Thimme had remarked to him, "The historian can have only one single aim: the Truth" (III. 318 f.). Though Bülow, after the usual fashion of memoir writers, assures us that he has aimed at objectivity and fairness, "as if under oath to speak the whole truth" (III. 329, 353), posterity will hardly accuse him of attaining to the desideratum expressed by President Hoover in his famous letter to President Emeritus Thompson: "the speeding up the production of truth". On the contrary, his attitude is typified by his condemnation of Bethmann for not denying immediately and categorically the "scrape [*sic*] of paper" blunder. "One certainly needs to be no Machiavelli", says Bülow, to understand that *raison d'état* and the highest interests of the nation demanded such a denial. As no third person was present at the interview, Bethmann's "denial would have equal value with [Goschen's] affirmation" (I. 131, 476; II. 109; III. 176).

Though Bülow draws but slightly upon the published diplomatic correspondence covering his period of office, he does make considerable use of private letters in his possession, both to characterize his contemporaries

and to shed incense upon himself, as in the flattering compliments of political climbers while he was in power, or in the admiring condolences which he received upon his resignation (III. 7–10, 337–371). He also cites from valuable and exceedingly interesting summaries of conversations written down within a few hours after they occurred, such as his talks with the Kaiser during the Russo-Japanese War (II. 63 ff.) and at his resignation in 1909 (III. 509 ff.), when he tried to dissuade the Kaiser from appointing Bethmann as his successor, and warned him to seek a naval agreement and in no case to risk supporting Austria against Russia in a second Bosnian affair. How far the historian can count upon the absolute accuracy of these letters and summaries it is difficult to say, as there is no way of testing the greater part of them. Summaries are liable to subjective influence, and even where the statements are not given in summary but in the form of direct quotations, in a few cases where the reviewer could test them, he often found sentences omitted from the original text without any warning to the reader.

The reader would do well to begin with the fourth and last volume for two reasons. The first reason is chronological. The last volume treats of Bülow's boyhood, early life, and rapid diplomatic advancement in Athens, Paris, St. Petersburg, Bucharest, and Rome, while the second and third volumes cover his twelve years at the foreign office from 1897 to 1909, and the third volume the bitter years of retirement, when he could observe with Dante: "Nessun maggior dolore che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria." The second reason is psychological. The reader will approach the memoirs with more sympathy and respect for the author if he reads first of the author's generous love and admiration for Bismarck, William I., and especially for his own noble, wise, and high-minded father. His account of his schooling, his campaigns in the Franco-Prussian War, his lasting friendship with Herbert Bismarck and other comrades, and his cosmopolitan diplomatic life abroad leave a delightful taste in the mouth in comparison with the fault-finding bitterness of the later volumes. To be sure, the frank references to many of the fair sex suggest rather the attitude of Goethe than the views of Tacitus about German morality.

One may judge the memoirs from various points of view. As a clever, amusing, and often instructive comment on the weaknesses and follies of those who govern the world they are a literary success. There are many wise maxims not unworthy of a Machiavelli, a Voltaire, or a Frederick the Great. Diplomacy, for instance, as Bülow is fond of repeating, is an art and not a science. It is a mistake to try to do the same thing a second time, as Bethmann tried to support Austria in 1914 in the way Bülow had done in the Bosnian Crisis. *Ne bis in idem. Duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem.*

As an historical contribution the memoirs are valuable, if taken *cum grano salis,* illuminating as they do, though with exaggerated lights and

shades, the intrigues of the men about the Kaiser and the difficulty of serving such a complex personality as the Kaiser himself. If Bülow is very severe and bitter against men like Holstein, Bethmann, Jagow, Flotow, Schön, Monts, and above all against William II. himself, it is pleasant to note that he always has a good word to say, by way of contrast, for the empress, the crown prince, Ballin, Arenberg, August von Eulenburg, Bodo von Knesebeck, and many others. Of German professors and historians he mostly had a low opinion because of what he regarded as their pedantry, partisan narrowness, and lack of cosmopolitan culture. He frequently takes occasion to speak slurringly of men like Delbrück, Harnack, Sybel, Sombart, Haller, Meinecke, Troeltsch, Breysig, and the Weber brothers.

As a piece of documentary evidence that he was always a wise chancellor, that he handed over an easy and happy heritage to his successor, that he would have succeeded, if in office, in 1914 as he had succeeded in 1909, that he might have succeeded in keeping Italy neutral in his mission to Rome in 1914–1915 if he had not been intrigued against by Bethmann and Jagow, the memoirs are a failure. They prove too much. *Qui nimium probat, nihil probat.*

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre de 1914–1918. Par le Maréchal FOCH. Deux tomes. (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. xxix, 281; lviii, 337. 60 fr.)

The Memoirs of Marshal Foch. Translated by Col. T. BENTLEY MOTT, Liaison Officer between Marshal Foch and General Pershing. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1931. Pp. lxiii, 517. $5.00.)

"THE process of time told slowly on Moltke; his fine intellect was not dimmed, but it stiffened into a set of fixed ideas, and his memory lost its retentive power. In his eighty-seventh year he began to write his *précis* of the great war of 1870 . . . a superficial and unjust book, bearing plainly the marks of mental decay." This analogy, borrowed from one of Moltke's biographers, is the kindest explanation one can offer. Foch's *Mémoires* are unworthy of the great part he played, of the spirit and character he abundantly revealed, and of the intellectual temper demonstrated in his earlier writings. It was for these known and proven qualities that two nations turned to him in the most critical hour; and only real greatness of character could have made effective the powerless supreme command vested in him. Of all this the *Mémoires* offer only a ghostly and unpleasant caricature; and one may hope that the portrait they draw is as untrue and unjust as is the narrative of events they offer.

Foch set out to write, as he explains, not a history of the war but only "le récit des événements auxquels j'ai pris part". He did not complete

this task, and the memoirs consist of two separate fragments. The first volume covers his operations in 1914; the second exhibits his rôle as generalissimo in 1918 (March 26–November 11). The scale of treatment varies correspondingly. The first gives a chronological record with much unimportant detail, while the second, struggling with a great variety of topics, is more broken in arrangement; it is filled (one may fairly say padded) with long yet fragmentary quotations from documents, and scissors and paste have entered largely into the work of composition. The period after the armistice is not treated, and the years 1915, 1916, and 1917 are left a blank. This gap is bridged over by an *avant-propos de l'éditeur* of sixty pages, which in the American edition appears as a "Preface prepared under the direction of Marshal Foch's military associates"—a rather free rendering. This résumé offers some new points, but unfortunately Foch himself contributes nothing on the six months' interallied negotiations preceding the March offensive. As he played an important part in these, a first-hand record would have been invaluable; on the other hand, the campaigns of 1914 and 1918 are by now well enough known so that one can only regret the version presented here.

The narrative, for the most part, is a *précis* of a headquarters journal—that is, a detailed record of his own "activities" set down from day to day at the time by other hands. Written out long after the event, it shows that the author had no clear recollection of the matters transcribed; on the other hand, he has disregarded completely the mass of evidence published since the war. There is little fresh comment or appreciation of men and events; and the book is no more a personal recollection than a careful historical study. The day by day chronicle has often been followed very closely. Once, at least, *le général Foch* of the original has not been transposed into the first personal pronoun; and the source survives in dated paragraph headings. One of these records at length a minor attack on a French sector which Foch himself was concerned with, and quite omits a great offensive delivered unsuccessfully against the British that same day (March 28)—as it happens, the whole success or failure of Foch's undertaking depended upon that battle.

This instance illustrates very fairly not only the method but the spirit of the memoirs. In their remote retrospect, Foch and his own doings occupy not merely the center of the stage but the whole; his colleagues, subordinates, and allies are introduced as inert, unthinking instruments of the brain and will of the generalissimo. Haig appears as a faint-hearted creature, Pétain is reduced to a cipher, and even Weygand receives not the slightest word of recognition. The Americans are disposed of in a few adroit backhanders—in striking contrast to the generous recognition which Foch (the true Foch) showed just after the war. The attack of the 42nd division at the Marne and other familiar and long exploded legends are duly incorporated in these "recollections", which unfortunately only

go to confirm Foch's responsibility for the sensational interviews published (and sometimes disavowed) since the war. An English writer sums up the matter very kindly: Foch's character stood up against all the strain of war, but succumbed to victory.

The American edition gives in a single volume the full text of the original, as well as the maps; but some of the best illustrations have been exchanged for snapshots of doughboy life with journalistic captions, which cheapen the volume. The rather stilted and monumental French, larded with oblique and tortuous phrases, Colonel Mott has turned into very straightforward English. By searching, one can find mistranslations; but in many ways the translation is the more readable version.

Cambridge. T. H. THOMAS.

La France sur le Rhin: Douze Années d'Occupation Rhénane. Par PAUL TIRARD. (Paris: Plon. 1930. Pp. v, 520. 36 fr.)

THE interallied occupation of the Rhineland, which terminated last year, forms a momentous chapter in the history of post-war Europe. Previous military occupations of foreign territory in time of peace have generally had but a limited object: to assure the payment of a war indemnity or the maintenance of some political or territorial arrangement. This one had a far broader and more crucial object, for it was intended to guarantee in all its clauses, territorial and political, military and financial, a treaty signed by twenty-eight states, closing the greatest war in history. It differed, too, from other similar experiments in the fact that, under American influence, its management was entrusted, not to military authorities, but to a group of civilians, the Interallied Rhineland High Commission. It stands unique among such experiments in the magnitude and complexity of the tasks which the occupying powers were led for a time to assume (when in 1923–1924 France and Belgium undertook the direction of almost the whole economic life of the most densely populated and highly industrialized region of Germany). And perhaps in no other case has an occupation been used so vigorously to furnish means of coercion, or been so bitterly resented by the nation whose territory was occupied, or had such repercussions on the course of international politics.

For these reasons and also because of the large amount that has been published on this subject from the German standpoint, we may welcome a volume from the most qualified of spokesmen from the Allies' side, M. Paul Tirard, who was throughout the whole period of the occupation the representative of France upon, and president of, the Interallied Rhineland High Commission. This is a serious and valuable work, clear, precise, orderly. M. Tirard does not undertake to judge the policies of his own country, or of Germany, or of other powers. He reveals no diplomatic secrets. He avoids detailed, chronological narration. What he offers is, first, a review of the historic policy of France on the Rhine, some ac-

count of the genesis of the occupation in 1918–1919, and then a very systematic and authoritative survey of the problems, aims, methods, and achievements of the Interallied Commission, with special attention given to such controverted questions as the "separatist movement", the use of colored French colonial troops, or the "Ruhr war" of 1923. While the book is undeniably in the nature of an *apologia pro domo sua* and at times betrays a certain lack of comprehension for other than French points of view, its tone is in general temperate and dispassionate. One leaves it with enhanced respect for a man who seems to have discharged an extraordinarily difficult task with wisdom, tact, and generosity, and who some day may be recognized to have deserved well both of France and of Germany.

R. H. L.

Dawes to Locarno, 1924–1926: the Diary of an Ambassador. By Viscount D'Abernon, P.S., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. With Historical Notes by Maurice Alfred Gerothwohl, Litt.D., Diplomatic Correspondent of The Daily Telegraph. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 317. $5.00.)

During the two critical years covered by his third and last volume, Lord D'Abernon rounded out his extraordinary services to Germany and to the reconstruction of Europe. Free from any suspicion of partisanship, he firmly insisted, when all the world was still distrustful, on confidence in German honesty; he adhered courageously, with admirable poise and common sense, to a practical as against an emotional policy. He not only assisted in working the "miracle" of currency stabilization, but he was also one of the first to advocate the security pact and to urge that it be bilateral rather than a one-sided alliance of the old type. He early discerned the amazing conjunction of circumstances which rendered Locarno imperative though seemingly incredible, and pressed effectively for speed in seizing the fleeting opportunity. Deftly he employed the sittings of Stresemann to Augustus John, when the painter would not permit his subject's talking, to convey advice and encouragement which eased the way for Germany's initiative in proposing the pact. On the contributions of Stresemann and Ramsay MacDonald to Locarno, the author makes revealing comments. To Chamberlain he attributes the influence which brought the French into line, and to Herriot, high credit for masterly skill in acclimatizing the pact idea in France.

In spite of the modesty of D'Abernon's pages it is clear that he had a heavy share in making the commercial treaty (1924) between Britain and Germany. This treaty is remarkable in being the first free trade treaty negotiated on a reciprocity basis. Vigorous reciprocity negotiations in applying free trade policy might well produce, he contends, an advantageous modification of British economy.

Now that the tension on the Rhine frontier has been relieved by the security pact of Locarno, Russo-Polish relations become the most fruitful source of European diplomatic complications. The far-reaching conflict between Warsaw and Moscow still involves, no less than in Napoleon's time, the interests of most of the Continent. The peculiar nature of the régime at Moscow accentuates the potential difficulties of this international problem. Regarding Soviet Russia, D'Abernon's views appear to be somewhat out of character. His patience and generally broad understanding do not extend to the Red Republic.

Records of his conversations with Bülow, Kühlmann, Hoffmann, and Eckardstein contain pertinent, if not always important, facets of such varied themes as war guilt, Holstein, Tirpitz, the Kaiser, and the Dardanelles. Among the pointed characterizations enlivening this volume it is difficult to forget such as: "the still, small voice of Beneš"; Luther, with "none of the minor graces but a strong personality not unlike that of a Thames tug"; Francqui, "a forceful personality of the banker-condottiere type"; and Brockdorff-Rantzau, "the stage type of diabolical diplomatist".

As a whole, Lord D'Abernon's diary has yielded some useful information on numerous phases of the *Making of the Peace,* but it is most valuable as preserving, from a momentous period, the observations of an exceptional man whose ideas and performance approach the highest order of statesmanship.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Soviets in World Affairs: a History of Relations between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World. By LOUIS FISCHER. Two volumes. (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1930. Pp. 892. $10.00.)

THIS work is an important contribution to the history of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and world politics since 1917. The material is presented in thirty-two chapters, sixteen forming the first volume and covering the period to the death of Lenin in 1924. Written in a clear journalistic style, the work presents the first serious and detailed account in English of the subject in a sense sympathetic and favorable to the Bolsheviks.

The author has had the advantage of intimate relations with Bolshevik leaders and a number of other foreign statesmen, especially German. He has been able not only to use the sources and accounts published by the Bolsheviks, which are equally accessible to those who read Russian, but, in addition, he has had access to their public and private papers in certain cases. Where he has been able to do this, he has contributed directly to the knowledge of properly equipped scholars. For those unable to read Russian the work offers a large fund of information and an opportunity to understand some, if not all, of the motives behind the policies of Soviet

Russia and other powers. It is needless to state that objective historical investigation must go further than Mr. Fischer's valuable work, for it must aim to understand all sides without slighting matters unpleasant to a fixed interpretation. On the other hand, it may be stated that Mr. Fischer has not hesitated to criticize Soviet policy, although generally in a tone which differs from that applied to the other side, whatever this may chance to be.

There are certain very important contributions which Mr. Fischer makes to our knowledge of portions of Soviet foreign policy. Among these should be mentioned various episodes in the history of the intervention and the "expected" world revolution, Russo-Polish relations (1919–1921), the history of the Middle East (1918–1927), Soviet assistance to Nationalist Turkey (1921–1922), the Soviet side of Anglo-Russian and German-Russian relations, and the active participation of Soviet Russia in the Chinese revolution, the account of which is particularly impressive.

Less successful and more open to criticism are the accounts of Russia's policy in the Straits question, the interrelation of Russia's Middle Eastern and Near Eastern policies, and the rôle of the Third International, especially from 1919 to 1923. In regard to the latter the author's account is exceedingly meager and only a few pages are devoted to it. To refrain from giving enough space to Lord Cushenden's scathing criticism of Litvinov's original disarmament plan presented at the League's Preparatory Commission leaves an unfavorable impression (p. 755). Those who read Bolshevik accounts of the effect on their leaders of the Curzon ultimatum are likely to doubt that they "deliberated calmly in the Kremlin" (p. 443), but backed down hastily, in fact, five days before the time limit expired. Russia's signature of the Straits Convention was probably a part of the consequences of the retreat before the Curzon ultimatum. It would also be difficult for serious students to accept the statement, without proof, that "Japan harboured designs on all Siberia and not only one part" (p. 107). Furthermore, Admiral Kolchak (if we are to believe *Dopros Kolchaka,* pp. 82–96) did not "persuade" Americans to conquer the Straits, but was requested by the American navy to give them the information necessary to the undertaking, which, by the way, was abandoned because of the necessity of using all possible naval units in the convoying of troops to Europe. It would also have been better for Mr. Fischer to have been more generous with the significance of the Entente's victory in the World War so far as it liberated Soviet Russia from the strangle hold of the Germans.

The University of California. ROBERT J. KERNER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly, Cardinal de Cambrai et Chancelier de l'Université de Paris, 1350–1420. Texte Latin et Traduction Française des Quatre Traités Cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des Notes Marginales de Christophe Colomb: Étude sur les Sources de l'Auteur. Par EDMOND BURON, Archiviste du Gouvernement Canadien, ancien Élève à l'École Normale Supérieure. Trois tomes. (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères. 1930. Pp. 828, paged consecutively. 375 fr.)

THE author dates the writing of the *Ymago Mundi* between 1410 and 1414 and the printing of it before 1481. It consists of a compilation of twenty-one studies, or treatises. The first sixteen are written by D'Ailly, and the last five by Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, who had been a pupil of D'Ailly. They make, in the Colombine copy, 342 folio pages. Of these, Mr. Buron has reproduced in medieval Latin and translated into modern French, 131 pages, or about one-third. Of their marginal notes, numbering 898, he gives us in Latin and in French 557, or about two-thirds. The reproduction and the translation are, in general, on opposite pages, but not invariably facing each other. It is the exception when the original of a given translation can be found readily.

Anyone who looks in this work for light on the questions, 'Who wrote the several annotations?' and 'When were they severally written?' will be disappointed. Mr. Buron disclaims the ability to answer these questions. While admitting in substance that he does not know who wrote the notes, he virtually asserts that they are all written by Christopher Columbus and reasons on that basis.

After a brief introduction he sketches the life, attainments, purposes, and achievements of Columbus. Differing with Vignaud, he regards him as a scientific navigator, astronomer, and naturalist, a *véritable savant,* and tries to prove him one by citing selected incidents in his career, disregarding those that show him to have had an essentially unscientific mind. He credits him rightly with the discovery of magnetic declination, although when Columbus discovered it, it had been known to the Chinese over three hundred years. He credits him also with finding in magnetic declination a means of determining longitude. If Columbus ever pretended to have made such a discovery, the less said about it the better for his reputation as a scientist.

Respecting the remarkable power of observation which he attributes to Columbus, he quotes him as writing in his journal on September 30, 1492: "The stars which are called the *guards* are at nightfall near the arm (rope attached to the yard arm) in the direction of the west." The phrase in parentheses should be in brackets, being an interpolation. It is expressed by our nautical term "brace." Imagine a scientific navigator, a *véritable savant,* attempting to fix the position of a constellation by referring it to a

bit of rigging on a cockleshell on the North Atlantic on the last day of September. The blunder is not Columbus's, but Buron's. The word "arm" as here used is not a nautical term. It is an astronomical one, and stands for an imaginary east and west line through the north pole.

We are told: "C'est dans la nuit du 13 janvier, 1493, qu'il a fait des constatations surprenantes sur les conjonctions" (p. 18). According to his journal he made no astronomical observation that night. His *"constatations surprenantes"* were notions as to the relative positions of the sun, the moon, Jupiter, and Mercury. There was nothing remarkable about these notions, unless they were, as they appear to have been, far from right, even for that time. They were probably drawn from astronomical tables and more or less distorted in the mind of Columbus, to say nothing of being misrepresented by his amanuensis.

In further extolment of the great discoverer as a scientific observer, Mr. Buron cites a marginal note in which Columbus reports the presence of amber in the island of Haiti. He says that this note was written in Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin and that its text will be found in the appendix (p. 32). Turning to the appendix, we find the text in Italian and not a word in Spanish, Portuguese, or Latin. It reads, with the French into which Mr. Buron has mistranslated it, as follows (p. 742):

> . . . del ambra es cierto nascere in india soto tierra he yo ne ho fato cavare in molti monti in la isola de feyti vel de ophir vel de cipango a la quale habio posto nome espagnola y ne o trovato pieca grande como el capo . . . .
>
> (L'ambre se trouve dans l'Inde. Je n'ai pas fait fouiller dans plusieurs montagnes de l'île de Feyti ou d'Ophir ou de Cipango à laquelle j'ai donné le nom d'Espagnole et je n'en ai pas trouvé plus gros que la tête. . . .)

Christopher Columbus is entitled to the credit of first identifying as such the amber discovered by the natives and worked by them.

The author's reproduction of D'Ailly's text lacks the exactness both of a facsimile and of a carefully revised copy. His translation is generally too literal. He supplements the text of D'Ailly with the sources that he drew upon, not merely naming, but quoting them. This documentation stands out as the best and most valuable part of the work, evidently the center of the author's interest and attention.

The make-up of the volumes leaves much to be desired. The paper is shoddy and the binding insecure. On account of the roughness of the paper the legends of several figures, reduced in printing, are illegible. The running titles, omitted by D'Ailly and supplied in manuscript by Christopher Columbus, should have been reproduced. The same may be said of the initial letters inserted by Columbus. The others should have been supplied by the editor. The large type is clear in the French, but not in the Latin, where an attempt has been made to reproduce or imitate mediæval typography, including abbreviations. There is a good index.

Washington, D. C. JOHN BIGELOW.

A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval. By H. P. Biggar, D.Litt., Chief Archivist for Canada in Europe. [Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 14.] (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada. 1930. Pp. xxxvii, 577.)

Jacques Cartier et la Découverte de la Nouvelle-France. Par Charles de la Ronçière, Président de l'Académie de Marine. [Les Grandes Figures Coloniales, 2.] (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. 244. 15 fr.)

Une Épopée Canadienne. Par Charles de la Ronçière. [La Grande Légende de la Mer, Collection dirigée par José Germain.] (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1930. Pp. 255. 15 fr.)

Ever since the publication of his important pioneer study, *The Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901), Dr. Biggar has kept up his research into the early history of the St. Lawrence region. His official position gave him rich opportunities which he has improved by collaboration with Continental scholars, and under the auspices of the Public Archives of Canada he has now published three volumes of source materials comprehending the activities of European explorers up to 1543. In the present (third) volume concerning Cartier and Roberval, he has brought together "all the known material relating to the subject" except the narratives already published (Ottawa, 1924), and unimportant items from the Roberval family archives. Approximately half of these documents have never before been published, and the others (collated with the originals) have been drawn from some eight relatively rare and inaccessible publications. Those in French are untranslated, but those in Spanish and Portuguese, except for some appended notes (pp. 167, 169), are translated. The introduction is a reissue of a paper read before the Royal Historical Society in 1917. The translations in it do not always conform with those given along with the originals, but the discrepancies in no case are important.

It is not possible to list here the new materials. Large portions concern the domestic and official affairs of Roberval from 1520 to 1565, and they reveal him to have been a busy, litigious person, whose willingness to embark on adventures in real estate, piracy, colonization, and mining was rather greater than his success. The two most important categories of new documents include those which reveal Francis I. as an enthusiast for Canada, and those which embrace the correspondence of Charles V. with his ministers, 1540–1542, when the activities of Cartier and Roberval seemed at various times to contain threats against Spanish or Portuguese property and rights in Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Finally, our small knowledge of Cartier's third voyage is supplemented by depositions concerning it made in Spain by Newfoundland sailors.

The canons and apparatus of the book, with the minor exceptions noted, are excellent, and its usefulness, along with the preceding volumes,

is great. All three could be used by teachers as the material for training in historical method, and students should be grateful for these comprehensive collections of widely scattered materials. It is perhaps worth suggesting that "Escoce", reported "not found" (p. 441), may well have been Scotland.

The two small volumes by the historian of French marine enterprise have been evoked by the 1931 colonial exhibition in Paris. They are neat examples of scholarship at ease in popularization and of remarkably inexpensive bookmaking. In France it is possible to produce well printed and well designed books of this size with four or five good facsimile illustrations and a clear map for sixty cents.

In preparing the Cartier volume the author had the advantage of using the materials collected by Dr. Biggar, and Dr. Biggar has accepted his suggestion that the chief figure on the Harleian Mappemonde (*c.* 1536, British Museum Add. MS. 5413, reproduced in Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier,* Ottawa, 1924, opp. p. 126), is probably the nearest approach to an authentic portrait of Cartier (see W. F. Ganong in *Canadian Historical Review*, V. 357–359; Biggar, *ibid.*, VI. 155–157; editorial note, *ibid.*, VI. 202). It is enlarged in this volume (opp. p. 77), but presents a very vague physiognomy. A lively, interesting style and the relation of Cartier's career to contemporary French and European activities in exploration, cartography, and letters (notably Rabelais) are the great merits of the book. But the author uses imagination in clothing the bare bones of the evidence to a greater degree than would be tolerable in exact scholarship. As it is we have here a Cartier of more *panache* than one would deduce from his own narratives.

The same complaint can not be made of the eloquent narrative of the lives of Charles Le Moyne and his eleven warrior sons, who labored and fought for France and New France at sea, and on land from Hudson Bay to New Orleans, between 1641 and 1760. Here the problem is a choice of vivid incident. The father rose from humble civilian position to be chief agent between the French and the Iroquois and was ennobled by Louis XIV. for his extraordinary successes. All of the sons were naval or military officers. Four of them governed French colonies. Practically all of them lost their lives in the course of duty. It is next to impossible to elicit from the sources entirely satisfactory narratives of their lives, and errors and confusions are practically inevitable where eleven men carry the same patronymic in closely related enterprises. Moreover, there is too much to tell, and even when Iberville and Bienville are given most of the space, the result is an entertaining, rapidly changing series of incidents rather than integrated history.

Columbia University. J. Bartlet Brebner.

The Making of William Penn. By MABEL RICHMOND BRAILSFORD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xxiv, 368. $5.00.)

THIS book, which is concerned with the life of William Penn prior to his first voyage to America, is an attempt to evaluate those influences which contributed toward the molding of his character and the making of him above all his contemporaries "the child of his age and of his family". Born in the year of Marston Moor, the seventy-six years of his life which followed, witnessed no less than three revolutions of major importance, the Great Plague, the Great Fire, and a succession of religious persecutions of intense harshness and cruelty. To the ancestry of William Penn, Miss Brailsford devotes considerable attention. Much documentary evidence is presented to show that his mother, Margaret Penn, was a member of an Irish family of considerable distinction and not the "Dutchwoman of Pepys' Diary" and of numerous biographies. Even more convincing are the data submitted to prove that his father, Admiral Penn, who has gone down to posterity "as a traitor to the Protectorate to which he owed his pledged service", not only was innocent of these accusations but that he was a man of unquestioned fidelity and honesty in all his public and private relationships. The author has devoted a disproportionate amount of space to the life and work of the admiral, who, as a matter of fact, because of the character of his duties in the navy, had comparatively little direct association with his illustrious son during the formative years of the latter's life. It was, however, to his father, directly or indirectly, that William Penn owed his earliest friendships and his welcome in the homes of many of the most prominent families of England. Furthermore, the experience which he gained as manager of his father's extensive estates in Ireland prepared him for his great work of colonization.

The author attaches much importance to the significance of certain educational and religious forces that influenced the early life of William Penn. Not only was he reared in the midst of strong Puritanical environments but his contact with many of the leading independent thinkers of his day helped to shape his ideas, to mold his character, and to prepare him for the magnificent struggle which he was destined to wage in the defense of religious and political freedom.

The dual life to which William Penn was called—on the one hand by birth, breeding, and taste, and on the other by religious belief and principle—was possible only because of the peculiar qualities which he possessed to such a marked degree. His career is a succession of "abrupt alternations of prison and palace, pomp and penury". It was largely owing to his wide sympathy and his sense of proportion that Quakerism was elevated to a position of dignity and that it gained recognition among the upper classes in English society. In her analysis of the various forces that influenced the life of Penn, who is one of the most baffling characters in

all history, Miss Brailsford has done a most creditable piece of work. Furthermore, the story is clear, well written, and intensely stimulating and interesting.

Pennsylvania State College. ASA EARL MARTIN.

The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763–1775. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Professor of History, Miami University. Volume I. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 455. $5.00.)

AFTER a century and a half some of the most important records of the period of the American Revolution are coming to light. Fortescue's *Correspondence of King George III.* is a remarkable presentation of documents, most of which were practically unavailable until 1927. For America, the correspondence of King George's principal representative in this country can be of almost equal historical significance. Professor Carter's previous investigations have done much to demonstrate that the commander in chief of the British armies in North America was such a representative. That position was occupied for the longest period, and in some respects, during the most critical period, by General Gage, whose real significance has unfortunately been subordinated by a popular notion that he was merely governor of Massachusetts between the Tea Party and the Siege of Boston. Whether or not one follows Professor Carter's view that the commander in chief was in effect viceroy of North America in the twelve years before the Revolution, is really not material. The fact nevertheless remains that Gage's office at New York was the focal point of the British Empire in North America.

The correspondence of Gage was fivefold. First, he received the letters from colonial governors, Indian superintendents, frontier and garrison commanders, and merchants in the area between Newfoundland and Pensacola, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mississippi River. Second, he replied to these correspondents. Third, he digested this colonial correspondence and sent dispatches to England to the various secretaries of state and war, to the admiralty, the treasury, and the attorney-general's offices. Fourth, he received the instructions of the various home offices with which America had contacts. Fifth, he was the recipient of a voluminous miscellaneous correspondence, ranging from headquarters papers turned over to him by Amherst, to eyewitness accounts of the Battle of Lexington.

The average American investigator's fondness for public archives has hitherto concealed from him the possibilities of many such collections as the Gage Papers. These papers were practically lost, so far as American historians were concerned, but their location was perfectly well known to the Viscounts Gage. As early as 1911 the existence of the Gage Papers

was known to Henry Belcher, whose *First American Civil War* gave him the chance to call attention to them. How completely he failed to recognize what he had found may be gleaned from the late Professor Van Tyne's review of Belcher's book (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVII. 843). On the other hand, Professor Carter saw the potential importance of General Gage. He found at the Public Record Office certain of Gage's letters to the secretaries of state, and realized that the archives of the Gage family might be richer than the Record Office. Through Carter's initiative, the present Viscount Gage overhauled the muniments at Firle Place, and the Gage Papers came to light. Carter had already begun the preparation of this volume which is a selection of some of the letters from Gage to the secretaries of state, part of the third class mentioned above. These were made mostly from the Record Office copies. In the midst of Carter's work, Viscount Gage sold his collection to Mr. William L. Clements, and the Gage Papers returned to America.

The skill with which Professor Carter has made his selection is highly to be commended, for, besides the intrinsic importance of the documents selected, they constitute a virtual key to a large section of the other Gage Papers. In addition to furnishing material for a study of imperial administrative problems in the twelve years before the Revolution, these documents are a perfect gold mine in which historians may trace and check events of local history in the immense area under Gage's jurisdiction.

The Yale Press is to be congratulated upon having had the courage to print above seven hundred words to the page in this volume. Few scholars will read it from cover to cover, but hundreds of scholars will have to consult sections of the book. There are occasions when it may be advisable to have smaller type and more material. A second volume, now in press, will present the letters from the secretaries of state to Gage.

The William L. Clements Library. RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

Journals of the Fourth Congress of the Republic of Texas, 1839–1840, to which are added the Relief Laws. Edited by HARRIET SMITHER, Archivist, Texas State Library. Volume I., *The Senate Journal;* volume II., *The House Journal;* volume III., *Reports and Relief Laws.* [Texas Library and Historical Commission, State Library.] (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company. 1930, 1931. Pp. iii, 378; 355; 282. $5.25.)

MORE and more the students of Texas history are coming to realize that the years from 1838 to 1841 represent something more than an interval between the two administrations of Sam Houston as president of the republic. As new evidence becomes available the constructive, even though sometimes visionary, statesmanship of President Lamar stands out more clearly in the picture, and for that reason it has been unfortunate that the

journals of the congress which was in session during the middle year of his administration were not printed. This deficiency has been removed by the publication of the volumes now under consideration. With painstaking care Dr. Smither has reconstructed the journals by bringing together materials from contemporary Texas newspapers, from official manuscript records, and from private collections, and has added a volume consisting of the departmental reports presented to the fourth congress, as well as the relief laws passed by that congress. The editing has been done in a manner that inspires confidence, and the annotations contain a wealth of supplementary and explanatory information which leaves the user of the volumes in no doubt as to the sources and the authenticity of the scattered materials which have been put together here.

The journals reveal the legislators struggling with such problems as stabilizing the currency of the new republic, reorganizing the tariff system, developing a land policy, providing for frontier defense, equipping a navy and maintaining an army, adjusting a judicial system, promoting the development of internal improvements, and encouraging commerce and industry. That not all these problems were satisfactorily solved was due less to a lack of zeal and ability than to a lack of resources, although the development of an obstructionist element in the lower house led by Sam Houston—ex-president and prospective next president—succeeded in defeating important parts of Lamar's program.

The reports made by the heads of the various departments of the government provide a comprehensive survey of the general condition of the country in 1839; and the relief laws furnish specific illustrations of the social and economic problems from the point of view of the people themselves. Considered as a whole these three volumes are a valuable addition to the printed source materials on the Republic of Texas, and the Texas Library and Historical Commission deserves a word of congratulation as well as of appreciation for making such materials available to the public.

Vanderbilt University. WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, 1841–1842. By THOMAS FALCONER, with Introduction and Notes by F. W. Hodge. (New York: Dauber and Pine Bookshops. 1930. Pp. 159. $3.50.)

IN October, 1840, Thomas Falconer, an Englishman, and already at the age of thirty-six a distinguished lawyer, set sail from Liverpool to Boston, to go thence to Texas. James Hamilton, Texan agent in London, wrote to President M. B. Lamar that Falconer wished to settle in Texas. This statement of purpose is unconvincing, but it is all that we know of his reasons for visiting Texas. He arrived at Galveston in March, 1841. He traveled thence to Houston, Victoria, Goliad, and San Antonio. From San Antonio, for reasons unexplained, he made a trip southward to the

Nueces River. Returning to San Antonio, he set out for Austin, where he arrived in June. The Santa Fé Expedition was preparing to march, and, upon invitation of President Lamar, Falconer joined it as "historiographer". He was taken prisoner at San Miguel, New Mexico, with the other members of the expedition who survived the hardships of the march, was taken to Mexico City, and was released there in February, 1842, through the intervention of the British minister.

From Mexico Falconer wrote on February 10, 1842, a brief letter to the New Orleans *Bee* describing the misfortunes of the Santa Fé Expedition. The letter was published in the *Bee* on March 11 and was reprinted in *Niles' Register* of April 2. On May 3 the New Orleans *Picayune* began publication serially of a more extended account of the expedition, which it immediately reissued in pamphlet form, entitled: *Expedition to Santa Fé, an Account of its Journey from Texas through New Mexico, with Particulars of its Capture.* In 1844 Falconer published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (vol. XIII., pt. 2, pp. 199–222) Notes of a Journey through Texas and New Mexico, in the Years 1841 and 1842. In this article he described his travels in Texas prior to his connection with the Santa Fé Expedition and emphasized the geographical features of the region through which the expedition marched, the story of the expedition itself being treated as an incident of his travels. In 1856 George Wilkins Kendall published the seventh edition of his *Narratives of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition,* and incorporated Falconer's diary of August 31 to October 9. Kendall was separated from the main force of the expedition during the six weeks covered by the diary, hence its importance. Presumably Falconer kept a diary of other portions of his travels and used it in the preparation of his various contributions but of this we have no direct information.

It is the items here listed—together with certain incidental documents, an introduction, and an itinerary—which Dr. Hodge has compiled and edited. The story told in each item is substantially the same, but each supplements the other. The editorial notes are full and informing and the appearance of the volume is pleasing.

Perhaps the chief value of Falconer's sober, matter-of-fact writings lies in their essential confirmation of Kendall's journalistic *Narrative.*

The University of Texas. E. C. Barker.

Fifty Years of Party Warfare. By William O. Lynch, Professor of History, Indiana University. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 506. $5.00.)

For this volume Professor Lynch has taken as his theme the rise of the American system of two major parties. Beginning with Washington's first administration in 1789, he has traced first the issues that caused the

clash between Federalists and Republicans, then the gradual break-up of the Republican party, and finally the evolution of two definite parties, the Democrats and the Whigs, by the end of Jackson's second administration in 1837. In his own words, his aim has been, "to narrate the history of American parties simply and without bias". Furthermore, his volume is intended for the intelligent general reader, rather than for the historical student alone.

Quite evidently this work is the product of painstaking research and much thought. The bibliography has a remarkable range, listing collections of letters and memoirs, as well as many public documents, monographs, articles, biographies, and general histories. It includes also such important newspapers as the *Aurora,* the *National Gazette,* the *National Intelligencer,* the *United States Telegraph,* and *Niles' Register.* Possibly some research in newspapers with a more local standpoint might have strengthened the summaries of important controversies, and this same criticism holds true for the failure to use manuscript sources. But covering, as he does, so extensive a field, and one for which such voluminous printed materials are available, Professor Lynch may readily be excused if he fails to go so minutely into the background of separate incidents. To the experienced eye of the historian the text itself shows how thoroughly and judiciously the sources have been used. Unfortunately, the elaborate footnotes prepared originally were greatly reduced in the final printing. With so many controversial issues presented, a more extensive citation of authorities would seem to be desirable.

Altogether, this volume as an account of the many incidents that brought about partisan line-ups in the first fifty years of the American government, probably gives too much detail, at the expense of extensive analyses and broader strokes which would present a more clear-cut conception of the larger movements involved. True to his avowed aim Professor Lynch usually refrains from passing judgment, presenting the facts and leaving the reader free to draw his own conclusions. While this method is historically sound, it detracts somewhat from the general interest. There are, however, in the accounts of the intrigues that preceded the disputed election of 1824, and of the Jacksonian period, many analyses of the personalities and events of those rather hectic years which give considerable vigor and color to this section of the volume. For the average reader a more extensive introductory chapter and a more complete summary at the end of the volume would have been helpful. Although the book contains no notable new material and presents no startling conclusions, in bringing together in a single volume a sane and detailed summary of the early development of American parties Professor Lynch has done a real service for the general reader as well as for the historical student.

The University of Cincinnati. BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

Thomas B. Reed, Parliamentarian. By WILLIAM A. ROBINSON. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1930. Pp. xvi, 423. $5.00.)

"CZAR" REED—"Great Thomas the Fat", an opposition paper called him at an early day—was one of the most colorful figures of his time. Yet a biographer forced to cope with limited sources on the more personal and intimate side of his subject's life and prone to stress his contributions as a "parliamentarian" inevitably has difficulty in making his character really live. This seems particularly true in the chapters of the volume which relate to his early life when he turned from thoughts of the ministry to the bar and soon found himself launched on a successful political career which sent him to Congress in 1877. For the next twenty years he played an increasingly important rôle in national politics. From the time of his appearance in the House, Reed set himself to a mastery of its rules; he became "a director of parliamentary tactics, an adviser in party strategy, and a leader in debate". With the Democrats regularly in control of that body for all but two of the ten years after 1879, it was not strange that he at first took his stand with the opposition obstructionists and withstood a revision of the rules in the interest of better discipline and greater efficiency. Yet he was a defender of the Speaker's authority in an office of centralized power and of corresponding responsibility. All this was excellent background for the great "quorum" battle of 1890 when the "Czar" upset the tradition of years and finally established the Speaker's prerogative and his own leadership. In carefully following this controversy, the author has not neglected Reed's stand on various issues of the day. He was a bulwark of conservatism, of the established order in the best sense. A thoroughgoing Hamiltonian, he was a dangerous foe of greenback and silver inflation, and an ardent champion of protection. He found weak spots in his opponents' arms and drove home many a powerful thrust. A born debater, he was well known for his drawling comments, with their Yankee shrewdness and humor, for his sarcastic interjections, his masterful repartee, his bitter invective, his "nerve-splitting notes", and his brief but persuasive arguments. In the Fifty-first Congress, following his great parliamentary battle, twenty-six laws were placed on the statute books by the victorious Republicans.

Although a strong partisan and a regular, Reed in one instance momentarily yielded to the opportunism that he so often condemned in his opponents. Stanch in the fight against free silver, in 1894, he suggested bimetallism by international arrangement with tariff reciprocity as the reward for free coinage of silver. But Reed's presidential bubble, despite a powerful following, was deflated in 1896 by the practical politics of Mark Hanna. Two years later Reed, a former large navy advocate, became a strong critic of Hawaiian annexation and Philippine acquisition and of the new tendency toward imperialism. In this, as in his career generally, the rugged honesty of the man, if not his fighting spirit, stands out boldly.

This is a conscientious biography which adds substantially to an understanding of late nineteenth century politics.

Western Reserve University. ARTHUR C. COLE.

A Traveler in Indian Territory: the Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late Major-General in the United States Army. Edited and annotated by GRANT FOREMAN. (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press. 1930. Pp. 270. $5.00.)

IN the absence of a certain official report which seems to be lost irretrievably, the nine little notebooks that Mr. Grant Foreman has put together and edited and annotated under the guise of the *Journal* of General Hitchcock have taken on an interest and a value which they would not otherwise possess. As it is, their interest is more ethnological than historical; but, such as it is, it is intrinsic, since the annotating has added little or nothing of importance to what was originally there.

The reprehensible means by which the executive department of the Federal government had carried into effect its policy of Indian removal, spending money freely for corrupt purposes, lending itself to intrigue, playing off one tribal faction against another, and recognizing officially only such chiefs as would fall in with its schemes, aggravated the dissensions already more or less present within the ranks of each of the several doomed nations. The result was disastrous in more than one instance. So disorderly did the state of affairs become, especially in that section of the Indian country to which the great semicivilized tribes of the South had been removed, and so alarming, that it called for investigation. One was accordingly devised and General Hitchcock with an established reputation for honesty and fair dealing where the red men were concerned was detailed to conduct it. The notebooks which he kept contain his observations, reflections, and miscellaneous data upon which he expected to build his final report.

The work of the editor was probably no easy task. It must have entailed the combining of material and the eliminating of much that was extraneous or mere repetition. Judging the work by its final product we can do no less than commend it and that highly.

The annotation, however, leaves very much to be desired. The method of procedure has been anything but scholarly. Everywhere are evidences that resort was had throughout to histories of ready reference, to the complete ignoring of recognized authorities. Almost the only works consulted or, at any rate, cited, were things of Foreman authorship, Grant or Caroline, or of Swanton. John R. Swanton, by the way, contributed the foreword to the book under review.

Since Mr. Foreman found the *Army Directory* and Hodge's *Handbook* quite adequate for his needs, it is not to be wondered at that his notes are of slight value. And they are badly arranged, superfluous, and fre-

quently lacking where most needed. Occasionally, they indicate an absence of familiarity with Hitchcock's text, giving nothing additional to what is found there sooner or later, and they are only rarely explanatory or elucidative of it. To illustrate the inaccuracy characteristic of the notes generally, one appearing on page 56 may be examined. The Osage treaties there listed do not include the particular one to which Hitchcock had reference. There was no Fort Clark in existence in September, 1808, and the treaty that Clark negotiated at Fire Prairie then was never ratified anywhere. The treaty being objected to by the Osages, it was withdrawn by Lewis, who himself drafted another, the same that was eventually ratified in 1810.

The indexing of the book is almost as bad as the annotating.

Aberdeen, Washington. ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

The Quest for Social Justice, 1898–1914. By HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER, Associate Professor of History, Smith College. [A History of American Life, volume XI.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xvii, 390. $4.00.)

PERHAPS the greatest difficulty that confronts the writer of social history is the task of finding a symmetrical pattern upon which to weave his materials. All too frequently books of this nature turn out to be merely collections of past social facts, interesting enough, but almost devoid of significance because the proper relationships have not been established. In the book under review, however, Professor Faulkner achieves, without any obvious omissions, a degree of unity that is really remarkable, and by so doing he contributes not a little toward the clarification of an exceedingly complex period in our national history.

The key to the author's interpretation of the years from 1898 to 1914 is given in the title he has chosen, *The Quest for Social Justice*. "To many thoughtful men", he writes, "in the opening years of the twentieth century it seemed that America in making her fortune was in peril of losing her soul" (p. 81). The turn of the century found many Americans rich, but others living in slums almost as wretched as could be met with anywhere in Europe. It found a complacent plutocracy in charge of the nation's business that scrupled at nothing in its headlong pursuit of profits. It found the rights of the laboring man held down by the decisions of the courts and the indifference of those who chanced not to be laborers. It found the conditions of life that particularly affected women and children on the mend, but with much yet to be desired. Nevertheless, "the nation was girding itself for a mighty drive against special privilege and an attempt to secure social justice" (p. 26). Reforms in state and municipal government swept over the country like a flood; the right and duty of the government to restrain the ambitions of potential "malefactors of great wealth" was increasingly recognized; educators, scientists, and religious

leaders vied with one another in their efforts to promote the "physical and intellectual as well as the purely spiritual welfare of mankind". "Not since the decade of the thirties and forties had America experienced such a wave of reform" (p. 330). And by the time the World War came on this quest for social justice had produced results. For the ordinary man America had become indeed during this age of uplift "a better place in which to live".

There is hardly an aspect of American affairs during the period mentioned that Professor Faulkner has failed to bring into a reasonable relationship with this general theme. It takes a careful reading of the book to appreciate the skillful way in which the enormous mass of detail is put together, but a glance at the index reveals the entertaining diversity of the materials exploited. Under the A's are listed: "Advertising, influences diet, of patent medicines, improvement in newspaper standards of"; "Agriculture, prosperity of, in 1905–1906"; "American Birth Control League, founded"; "Architecture, of sky-scrapers, of dwellings"; "Ashford, Major B. K., investigates hook-worm disease"; "Automobile, invented, early American experimenters, Selden patent suits, motive power of, statistics, influences rural life"; "Aviation, ballooning, Langley's experiments, work of Wright brothers, work of Curtiss". And so on through the alphabet.

Two features stand out preëminently in this volume and in others of the same series—the illustrations and the bibliography. Of the twenty-five or thirty illustrations many are reproductions of cartoons which in their day strongly influenced public opinion. Sometimes on the same page there are shown both the need for reform and the realization of it—for example, children in the glassworks, and children in public playgrounds. Six well filled pages at the beginning of the book are given over to a careful description of the illustrations which makes clear the significance of each. The last chapter of the book is a Critical Essay on Authorities, thirty-three pages long—the best by far yet assembled on this period. Indeed, the bibliographical chapters included in the various volumes of *A History of American Life* will, taken together, furnish us with perhaps the most useful general bibliography of American history in print. For the convenience of students and librarians these chapters should be collected into a single separate volume.

The University of Nebraska. JOHN D. HICKS.

International Adjudications, Ancient and Modern, History and Documents. Edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. *Saint Croix River Arbitrations.* Two volumes. *Arbitration of Claims for Compensation for Losses and Damages resulting from Lawful Impediments to the Recovery of Pre-War Debts.* One volume. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Modern Series, volumes I.–III.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929–1931. Pp. cxiii, 513; xv, 503; xxviii, 564. $5.00 for vols. I.–II., $5.00 for vol. III.)

JUDGE MOORE's great contribution, the initial volumes of which have been so eagerly awaited by scholars and jurists throughout the entire world, is best described by the terms in which the author more than twenty years ago stated his purpose to have it "constitute a permanent and continuing source of authority for all international proceedings of a judicial or even of a mediatorial nature". For the latter, which are in the nature of advisory opinions, are included because "by reason of their tenor and the character and learning of the persons by whom they were made, they have brought an end to controversy, or contributed to its eventual solution, on legal grounds".

Judge Moore is also careful to make clear the relation of this historical work to juridical science:

> As a knowledge of history, political, social and economic, in a broad sense, is admitted to be highly conducive to an intelligent interpretation and administration of the rules of municipal law, all the more must it be admitted to be essential to an intelligent understanding and application of the principles of international law, which still remains, and may long continue to be, largely customary. But, in a narrower sense, the historical approach is equally, if not even more vital. Judicial judgments, in order to be intelligible and of constructive value, must be read in the light of the circumstances which gave rise to them. (General Introduction, p. vii.)

In each instance, therefore, the intention is to combine with the documents a history of the case. This is truly the launching of a literary leviathan which may reach more than threescore of volumes.

In order to hasten the commencement of the publication, interrupted by the war, the author eventually decided to divide it into two series, the ancient and the modern. The ancient series it is expected will begin with a volume devoted to the arbitrations among the Greeks. The first volumes of the modern series relate to the three arbitrations by means of mixed commissions under the Jay Treaty of November 19, 1794.

Of the three arbitrations for which this epoch-making instrument provided, two were eminently successful, while the third, although it was not carried to full fruition, opened the way to a compromise and settlement directly between the two governments. In one of the two that were suc-

cessful the foundations were laid of the settlement of the 'Alabama' claims through the arbitral tribunal at Geneva in 1872. (General Introduction, pp. x–xi.)

After this matter general to the series we come to the particular study of volume I., *The Saint Croix River Arbitration,* by the Mixed Commission under article V. of the treaty of November 19, 1794, between Great Britain and the United States. Volume II. continues this account without break except for a convenient repetition of the table of contents of the second volume. The noteworthy index has been made very complete to bring in all details of the controversy which, trivial as they may appear, are nevertheless characteristic of the nature of this particular arbitration and essential for a true history.

The third volume of the modern series which has just appeared deals with the *Arbitration of Claims for Compensation for Losses and Damages resulting from Lawful Impediments to the Recovery of Pre-War Debts,* by the Mixed Commission under article VI. of the same treaty, and therefore involves the consideration of many interesting questions of public law some of which have been debated until the present date. Judge Moore's introductory history of these controversies is a very readable though strictly juridical account and his preface relates how he succeeded in discovering and examining important manuscript material which had recently been sold at auction. He remarks that "even the work of the historian of International Adjudications, uneventful as it is commonly thought to be, is not always devoid of romance". This volume supplies every aid that the student could ask—a very careful statement of source materials, a table of cases reported and another of cases cited, followed by a list of authorities, with a very complete table of contents and index. Through a skillful use of variations in type and paragraph arrangement, a complicated mass of details has been treated in such a way as to bring out vividly the salient points of historical and juridical interest.

Scholars still make constant use of the great collection of treaties begun more than a century ago by a German scholar and it is a source of deepest satisfaction to feel that Judge Moore's series of *International Adjudications* which begins so auspiciously will long continue to aid in making effective the recourse to judicial methods for the settlement of international differences.

American University. ELLERY C. STOWELL.

The Michigan-Wisconsin Boundary Case in the Supreme Court of the United States, 1923–1926. By LAWRENCE MARTIN. [Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. XX., no. 3.] (Albany: the Association. 1930. Pp. 106–163.)

A critical account by a geographer of a boundary dispute from its beginning is not a novelty; but such a monograph as that of Colonel Law-

rence Martin on the *Michigan-Wisconsin Boundary Case* (decided by the Supreme Court in 1926) is an example worthy to be followed with regularity; those of us who are not of his profession have more to learn from geographers than we think.

In the Michigan-Wisconsin case there were three distinct boundary questions: the ship channel in Green Bay from the mouth of the Menominee River to Lake Michigan; the islands in the Menominee River and its tributary, the Brule; and the straight-line boundary of some seventy miles from the head waters of the Brule to the head waters (eastern or western branch) of the Montreal River, which flows into Lake Superior. With the aid of eight maps Colonel Martin gives a very clear picture of the points involved in each question, of the evidence, and of the decision reached. In his opinion, however, only one of the three questions, that of the islands in the Menominee and the Brule, was really open, the others having been historically and geographically determined some generations back in favor of Wisconsin; so he has no quarrel with the opinion of the court, which decided the whole case against Michigan. While the author thinks that one might perhaps trace the origin of the dispute, in part at least, to Mitchell's map of 1755, it seems to the reviewer difficult to find plausible argument for going back of 1836.

One of the most interesting parts of the discussion is its showing that the opinion of the Supreme Court in 1926 did not entirely end the controversy; this seems incredible until one reads that the opinion was followed, not by a simple decree of dismissal, but by a descriptive decree fixing the boundary; this is demonstrated to have been clearly erroneous in two respects in which it fails to follow the clear intent of the opinion itself. Less important, but amusing, is the geographer's comment on the language of the decree, "the land known as Sugar Island is determined to be part of the mainland of Michigan". "Lawyers", we read, "need geographers as advisers sometimes."

But while, perhaps, the geographers have the better of the lawyers in the discussion of the Michigan-Wisconsin case, it is only fair to add that geographers had much to do therewith; and one may demur to the statement that "the mass of printed briefs and arguments [submitted to the court] is appalling"; for the briefs at the final hearing aggregated only about 600 pages; the adjective might indeed be better applied to the number (299) of maps submitted.

Colonel Martin's monograph is a brilliant and valuable contribution to the literature of boundaries; it leaves no doubt as to the weighty influence of the often maligned *status quo;* and one of its sentences reads as a motto of some mistakes of the past: "A river is always the worst kind of boundary."

Washington, D. C. HUNTER MILLER.

Cartas del Libertador. Corregidas conforme a los Originales por VICENTE LECUNA. Ten volumes, 1799–1830. With an Index and an Appendix. [Mandadas publicar por el Gobierno de Venezuela presidido por el General J. V. Gomez.] (Caracas: Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores. 1928–1930.)

AMONG other modes of celebrating the centenary of the death of Simón Bolívar, on December 17, 1830, the government of Venezuela decided to publish an edition of his private correspondence. Vicente Lecuna, who has long been a student of the life of the Liberator of Venezuela, was selected to perform the arduous task of editing the letters. This collection has been garnered from many places. It reprints many letters from the *Memorias* of General O'Leary who served as the Liberator's aide-de-camp and whose memoirs included many documents concerning his illustrious master. Certain epistles have been selected from boxes of Bolívar's inedited papers that were not utilized by the editor of O'Leary's memoirs. Numerous letters were secured from divers individuals, such as the descendants of revolutionary soldiers. Other letters have been selected from the important collection known as the Archivo Santander, which contains the correspondence of Bolívar's Colombian rival. Numerous letters have been reprinted from a notable collection of Bolivarania made by José F. Blanco, a Venezuelan scholar.

Although the *Cartas del Libertador* are composed mainly of his private correspondence, yet the indefatigable editor has included some official letters that are alluded to in the private correspondence. Among these are Bolívar's letter of September 6, 1815, to a gentleman who had displayed much interest in the independence of South America—the famous "prophetic letter". Lecuna reprints the significant letter of Bolívar's secretary which describes the mysterious interview at Guayaquil between Bolívar and San Martín. The editor has also included Bolívar's invitation of December 7, 1824, to Latin American republics to send delegates to the Panama congress.

With the exception of a few supplementary letters that follow the index in the last volume, the arrangement followed is chronological. Many omissions, errors, and variant readings in earlier publications of Bolívar's letters have been noted and rectified. Except in cases where it was absolutely certain that clerical errors had been made in taking down the letters from dictation, as "haber" instead of "á ver", the originals or the best available copies of the originals have been faithfully reproduced. In cases where it would seem that corrections might be serviceable to students, they are given in notes.

These memorabilia furnish materials concerning many important events and salient personalities. They suggest that Simón Bolívar had conceived his grand design to liberate Venezuela from Spanish rule as early as 1806.

They disclose that it was his financial assistance which in 1810 enabled his white haired compatriot, General Miranda, to sail from England to the New World. They furnish interesting side lights upon such personages as the English educator, Joseph Lancaster, Alexander von Humboldt, Dictator Francia of Paraguay, Marquis de Lafayette, the Peruvian leader, José de la Riva Agüero, the Venezuelan revolutionist, José A. Paez, the Colombian *littérateur,* José Fernández Madrid, and the ill-starred Mexican Liberator, Agustín de Iturbide.

This definitive collection of Bolívar's private correspondence contains a wealth of material concerning topics of interest to students of Latin American history. One may trace here Bolívar's notions about government, monarchical or republican. Naturally there is made available a vast amount of sources concerning the protracted revolutionary movement in South America against Spain. South American reactions toward the policies, real or fancied, of European nations like England, France, and Spain are occasionally mirrored in these pages. Suggestions are also given of the Great Liberator's ideas in respect to the relations between the new American nations and the Holy See, especially concerning the thorny problem of the authority to make ecclesiastical appointments.

Intercalated among the pages of these volumes are critical notes which furnish explanations concerning the provenance or the text of many letters. The collection is profusely illustrated by facsimiles of Bolívar's letters, scenes from his romantic career as depicted by Venezuelan artists, and portraits of himself and his contemporaries. The last volume is mainly devoted to a detailed index. The *Cartas del Libertador* thus make available to students of Latin American history sources that have never been utilized by any biographer of the Great Liberator.

The University of Illinois. WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

A History of the Argentine Republic. By F. A. KIRKPATRICK, M.A., Reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge, Corresponding Member of the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana. With an Introduction by HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York, Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxvii, 255, $5.00.)

"THIS book is, in the first place, intended as an attempt to interpret to English readers the history of the Argentine people, and in some degree to interpret the character of that people as illustrated by their history. . . . A second object is, by means of a Spanish version, to make known to Argentine readers the sympathetic interest with which the astonishing advance of their nation from its first small beginnings is viewed in England." The volume is dedicated to the Prince of Wales and the publication date

was evidently made to synchronize with the recent visit of His Royal Highness to South America.

Thus the book is frankly a work of propaganda. But it is propaganda of a very high type, written by a man long familiar with the field and with an introduction by one of England's foremost historians.

There is little either in the introduction or in the main body of the work to which the critical historian can object. It appears that Professor Temperley overstates both Canning's generosity and his estimate of the importance of Rio de la Plata at the beginning of its national life. There is little reason for describing as "generous" a policy that was shrewdly calculated to capture the trade and investment opportunities of Argentina or for asserting that Canning considered the turbulent provinces of the River Plate more important than Gran Colombia or Mexico. Otherwise, the work is unprejudiced and sound.

The book begins with a discussion of the geography of Argentina, and approximately half of the volume is devoted to the colonial period and the winning of independence. The remainder presents a well balanced and thoughtful survey of the national period down to the end of 1930. There is no better brief history of the country in the English language, perhaps none better in any language.

The work will be found useful in courses dealing with Latin American history in the colleges and universities of the United States. The style is clear and simple and there are eight useful maps. Social and cultural topics are dealt with along with economic and political history; but there is no list of supplementary readings and the occasional references to sources and secondary works often fail to give the information necessary for the convenient location of the materials cited. A valuable appendix contains a summary of the governments of the River Plate, an English translation of the Argentine declaration of independence, an outline of the constitution of the Argentine nation, and a brief discussion of the Falkland Islands controversy. In dealing with this controversy, however, Mr. Kirkpatrick failed to consult Goebel's definitive work on the subject.

The student interested in the foreign relations of Argentina will find little information in the volume. This phase of the subject is largely neglected, and perhaps deliberately so, for Temperley says in his introduction that "the aim of the author is to display the Argentine Republic from within rather than from without".

Duke University. J. Fred Rippy.

SHORTER NOTICES

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Editor-in-Chief, Edwin R. A. Seligman; Associate Editor, Alvin Johnson. Volume III., Bright–Commentators; volume IV., Commerce–Dante. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, 1931, pp. xxi, 681; xxvii, 700, $7.50 each.) It is pleasant to follow

the development of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.* The third and fourth volumes demonstrate conclusively that the series is ably conceived and ably executed. The scholar should not be niggardly in his expression of appreciation, for the work is prepared primarily as an aid to him. Its articles are the work of those who understand the point of view and the needs of the craft. It comes at an opportune time. The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is out of date and the fourteenth edition is seriously impaired by commercialism and by slovenly editing. The present series meets a real need.

Regarding the volumes at hand one can say little more than that they contain a vast amount of information intelligently arranged and clearly set forth. The reviewer suggests that the only way to gain an appreciation of the wealth of its offering is to leaf through a volume. Such exploration will disclose much unexpected material. The historian who becomes thoroughly familiar with the series will find that he is saved much labor. The two volumes under review contain notable long articles or groups of articles on the following subjects: Buddhism, Christianity, business, commerce, capitalism, communism, collectivism, coöperation, the corporation, crime and the criminal, and the child.

Yale University. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

God in Freedom: Studies in the Relations between Church and State. By Luigi Luzzatti, former Prime Minister of Italy and Professor of Public Law at the University of Rome. Translated from the Italian by Alfonso Arbib-Costa. With American Supplementary Chapters by President William H. Taft, Hon. Irving Lehman, Louis Marshall, Max J. Kohler, Dr. Dora Askowith. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xxxix, 794, $5.00.) Dr. Askowith's contribution to this substantial volume is in reality a prefatory biographical sketch of the author, who began life in the ghetto of Venice when that city was under Austrian control, and whose career covered more than fifty years in the Italian parliament; during three decades he held several portfolios, while in 1910 he was premier of Italy. Although Luzzatti was especially able in the field of finance, was a recognized authority in constitutional law, and had a wide acquaintance with Indian philosophy if not a deep understanding of it, his most passionate interest was religious and political liberty. To use his own expression: "These writings of mine all aim at the same ideal of liberating the human spirit."

The nucleus of the present work is *La Libertà di Coscienza e di Scienza* (1909), in addition to which in 1926, shortly before his death in 1927, Luzzatti gathered further material as for a second volume. While there is something of the spirit of propaganda in the writings, affected often by current and changing political conditions, there is in the aggregate a large amount of source material distributed through the five parts, the appen-

dixes, and the "American Supplementary Chapters". These last deal chiefly with religious liberty and its relations to the Jews and the treatment of religious minorities. Although historical students will be greatly handicapped in their use of the volume by its lack of an index, they will find, in the text and footnotes, valuable clews to phases of modern conflicts, social, political, economic, and religious, many of which were important in their day, if now largely forgotten. Even the controversial and propagandist features contribute some vitality to our knowledge of the past as well as reveal some present day strains and tensions.

The Library of Congress. WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

Au Seuil de notre Histoire. Par Camille Jullian, de l'Académie Française. Leçons faites au Collège de France, 1914–1930. Tomes II., III. [Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.] (Paris, Boivin and Company, 1931, pp. 292, 20 fr.) In their arrangement these volumes of public lectures are similar to their predecessor which was noticed in this *Review* last year (XXXV. 903); but their content and *ethos* are very different. Five contain reflections on the World War; and even in the remaining four, although the chief topic belongs to Ancient history, the author constantly alludes to, or introduces comparisons from, contemporary events. The prevailing theme that runs through all these addresses is a passionate dislike of empires and an idealization of *les patries* in general and of France in particular. So far so good. One may not always agree with the author's views, but at least they provoke thought. Unfortunately, the earlier lectures contain many sentiments which were understandable during the fever of war, when in all countries men of academic distinction said and wrote things that are best forgotten, but which, a dozen years after the armistice, are not so easy to condone. In the later lectures, on the other hand, M. Jullian, still dominated by his leading ideas, indulges in generalizations about ancient Gaul to which it is difficult to subscribe. His idyllic picture of Gallic life and society before the Roman conquest is not more acceptable than the excessive importance which he would attach to Hellenism in Gaul. Above all, the observations on Roman culture, to which all originality is denied, seem to one reader at least a travesty of the facts. Indeed, his dominant feeling, after reading the books, was keen regret that so eminent a scholar should have been so ill-advised as to republish these lectures.

Cornell University. M. L. W. LAISTNER.

On the Government of God: a Treatise wherein are shown by Argument and by Examples drawn from the Abandoned Society of the Times the Ways of God toward His Creatures. Indited by Salvian, Presbyter of Marseilles and Master of Bishops, as a Warning and Counsel. This Fifth Century Polemic done into English by Eva M. Sanford, Western Reserve

University. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, edited under the Auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, Austin P. Evans, General Editor.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. viii, 241, $3.75.) Since God is the helmsman of the world, why did pagan Rome prosper while calamity falls on Rome Christianized? Salvian's share in this fifth century debate is well known by abundant summaries, but now in Miss Sanford's translation it is made available to all as a valuable source for the social history of the Roman West. A scholarly introduction, judicious commentary, thorough tracing to their source of Salvian's borrowings or allusions, the use of philological studies in Salvian's Latinity, waken admiration for this example of accomplished historical editing, and the satisfaction is heightened by every comparison of the translation with Latin text. With accurate reproduction of the meaning we are given a discourse of grace and dignity that shows a subtle sense of English prose rhythm where the Latin becomes abrupt and lapidary.

The work in this reproduction heightens respect for Salvian as a man. Of high social origin, literary training, legal learning, noble principles, he had witnessed ravages by barbarian invaders, the sack of rich cities, corruption in Roman government, crushing taxation of the poor, the beginning of serfdom, deplorable morals in men nominally Christian. Such a world could not sustain the uncompromising idealism of Salvian to whom Christianity meant the Sermon on the Mount. He gave his wealth to the Church and sought the moral shelter of the convent life in Lerins. His case illustrates the historical necessity, in that age, of monastic communities even for a man so impassioned as Salvian with social spirit.

Christian Rome, he argues, suffers for its sins: "Except a very few individuals, what is the whole congregation of Christians but the very dregs of vice?" (III. 9). He recites the virtues of invading Goths and Vandals. Did the rhetorician's art distort the facts? Can his indictment be reconciled with the Aquitanian life portrayed by Sidonius? The reflections made imperative by this work will teach us caution in dealing with representations of our own time and place.

Lowell. F. A. Christie.

Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by William Abel Pantin, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Bishop Fraser Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. [Camden Third Series, volume XLV.] (London, the Society, 1931, pp. xvii, 296, £1 10s.) This volume is the outgrowth of the editor's essay on The General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks (Royal Historical Society *Transactions,* fourth series, X. 195–263), which won the Alexander Prize for 1927. A decree of the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, required the monasteries of the Black Monks in England, as elsewhere, to unite in

general or provincial chapters. These were to be held once in three years, and the statutes of the chapters were to be enforced through visitors appointed by the chapters and responsible to them. In England two chapters were organized, one for the province of Canterbury and the other for the province of York. This arrangement lasted until 1336, when in obedience to the constitution of Benedict XII. the two chapters were merged into one. The present volume includes documents for the period from 1215 to 1336 only. It is to be followed by a second volume for the period from 1336 to 1540.

The value of the records of these chapters for the history of the Benedictine Order in England is self-evident. To be sure, the wholesale destruction of records of this kind at the dissolution has left us with only a fragment of what we might have had. This fragment is impressive, however, and the frequent codification of the statutes of the chapters has helped to insure against loss. Statutes and minutes form the greater part of the material here printed. Reports of the visitors which would be especially welcome, are lacking, but we are promised some for the second volume. The legislation of the chapters is concerned with the interpretation and application of the Rule, for the most part. One project set on foot in the latter half of the thirteenth century was that of the education of selected monks at Oxford. A college was established there and maintained by a "rate" of a penny in the mark, or some such sum, on the income of the individual monasteries. For a full digest of the legislation of the chapters we must await the index which will be printed in volume II.

The work of editing has been well done. The editor met with some vexing problems, because of the repetitious character of much of his material. If he has not succeeded in making all of his solutions simple he has at least made them clear.

Boston University. W. O. Ault.

English Trade in the Middle Ages. By L. F. Salzman, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xii, 464, $4.50.) Mr. Salzman approaches the subject in an original manner, which is described concisely in his own words. "I deal first", he says, "with the Tools of Trade—currency, credit, and standards of weight and measure; next with the Centres of Trade—Towns, Markets and Fairs —and with the Merchant Law by which those centres were controlled; then with the methods of Distribution—Roads, Rivers, and the Sea; so, by a logical process, reaching the heart of our subject, Foreign Trade, in its two aspects of Export and Import" (pp. vi–vii).

The small volume is the product of extensive research in a wide variety of sources. It is not designed to be an exhaustive treatment. Mr. Salzman, for example, accepts the view of Gras that the fifteenth of 1203 marks the beginning of the national customs, apparently without investigation of the

recently printed pipe rolls for the possible support they may give to Hubert Hall's suggestion that a tenth levied by Henry II. and Richard I. was the antecedent of the fifteenth. Part of the contribution consists of new and interesting illustrations of facts and principles more or less well known. Of this type are the additions to our information about the control of the trade of towns by guilds merchant and the restrictions placed upon alien traders during the later Middle Ages. On the basis of different, though less extensive evidence, Salzman arrives at the same conclusion as Willard (*Speculum,* I. 363–374) with regard to the condition of English roads in the fourteenth century (pp. 189–190). On other aspects of the subject, such as markets, English marine insurance, or the procedure of the law merchant, the contribution is more fundamental in character.

All told, the book contains a large amount of valuable information that is lacking in general economic and commercial histories of medieval England, and some that is not to be found in monographs and articles on particular phases of the subject. It supplements but does not supersede the existing literature on the subject.

Haverford College. W. E. Lunt.

The Military Obligation in Mediaeval England, with Especial Reference to Commissions of Array. By Arthur H. Noyes, Ph.D., the Ohio State University. [The Ohio State University Studies, Graduate School Series, Contributions in History and Political Science, no. 11.] (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1930, pp. xi, 200, $2.50.) Dr. Noyes's work is an illuminating study in both military and constitutional history. The real scope of his treatise is indicated in his subtitle, the *Commissions of Array,* for the main title is somewhat misleading; it is not a history of the *Military Obligation in Mediaeval England.* Chapters II. and III., traversing the period down to 1485, fill only thirty-three pages, the very important system of "indentures" being dismissed with a few incidental references. The next chapter deals meagerly with the Tudor period. The bulk of the volume is concerned with the military obligation in Stuart England, which can hardly be defined as "mediaeval". A sketch of the military and constitutional features of the years 1603–1642 is followed by a detailed examination of the operations of the Commissions of Array during the Civil Wars, traced county by county. These investigations, based upon a wide study of the records, are valuable contributions to knowledge. They emphasize the significance of the local aspects of the Civil Wars, as illustrated in the bitter rivalry in raising troops between the royalists by Commissions of Array and the parliamentarians by militia ordinances. Dr. Noyes shatters the common notion that there were wholly royalist or parliamentarian counties; he shows that in each shire there was one group supporting Parliament and another loyal to the king, and that a struggle ensued, the outcome of which influenced the fate of the kingdom as a whole.

Dr. Noyes next develops an interesting discussion of the legal and constitutional issues involved in the Commissions of Array, the royal prerogative with regard to military service, the general obligation to serve under the duty of allegiance, and parliamentary limitation of the king's military powers. But Dr. Noyes tends to look at medieval legislation through the eyes of Stuart apologetics and consequently has misinterpreted certain medieval statutes. Thus he argues that the two significant laws of 1 Edw. III. and 18 Edw. III. (discussed so contentiously by Stuart royalist and parliamentarian lawyers) referred to the "army other than the militia". In point of actual fact, the Edwardian parliaments were here legislating with respect to the militia, to the troops arrayed under the general obligation of allegiance. These statutes never questioned the legality of the king's right to recruit by Commissions of Array, but sought merely to remedy specific abuses that had crept into the system, for example, the king's failure to pay wages to the arrayed troops from the time they left their own shires or towns.

Queen's University. A. Edward Prince.

Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy. Publié par Jos. Halkin, Professeur à l'Université de Liége, et C. G. Roland, Chanoine de la Cathédrale de Namur. Tome II. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1930, pp. xx, 800.) As early as 1834 the Belgian government began negotiations for the possession of the archives of the monastery of Stavelot-Malmedy, located in the Staatsarchiv at Düsseldorf after Prussia's annexation of the Rhenish Provinces in 1815. Prussia refused to surrender the records, since many of the properties mentioned in them were in Prussian territory. One of the vagaries of the treaty of Versailles was to annex to Belgium the territories concerned (the cantons of Malmedy, St. Vith, and Eupen), while leaving the documents to Prussia. In spite of their failure to secure possession of these most valuable sources, the editors of the *Recueil* have persevered in their work, begun in 1897, and already marked by the publication of M. Halkin's *Inventaire* (1897) and of volume I. of the *Recueil* (1909). The present volume, which marks the close of their labors on the history of the monastery, is a tribute to the industry and scholarship of the editors. It is regrettable that the Canon Roland died before seeing the book in print.

In their joint introduction, the editors express their modest belief that their publications may facilitate research for Belgian ' istorians, but it is to be hoped that the present work will have a more than national utility. Because of a peculiar combination of circumstances, the cartulary of Stavelot-Malmedy contains a veritable mine of information on the institutional, social, economic, and ecclesiastical history of eastern Belgium and the lower Rhine country.

Volume II. covers the period from 1200 to 1787. The editing is of the same high quality as that found in volume I. Each piece is dated as accurately as possible, and the present location of the document, whether original or a copy, is given. All charters of the period 1200–1400 (nos. 290–531) are printed *in extenso;* all of the fifteenth century (nos. 552–977, and in the annexes, nos. 1701–1722) are analyzed; of the mass of material for the years 1500–1787, only the most important documents are briefed (nos. 978–1699). Convenience in using the *Recueil* is enhanced by a Table Méthodique which classifies the documents according to papal bulls, royal, episcopal, seigniorial, and abbatial charters, other charters, records of courts, and notices. In the unusually full Table Onomastique an attempt is made to give modern equivalents for place-names. The introduction contains a carefully prepared list of abbots with their dates and a short list of recent works on the monastery.

The University of Chicago. JAMES LEA CATE.

History of Sweden. By Carl Hallendorff and Adolf Schück. Translated by Mrs. Lajla Yapp. (Stockholm, C. E. Fritze, 1929, pp. xxii, 466.) The need for an adequate history of Sweden in the English language has long been felt. Ever since the appearance in 1915 of Knut Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People* students of Scandinavian history have felt the lack of scholarly works in English dealing with Sweden and Denmark. Hallendorff and Schück have rendered a great service to the English speaking peoples by writing their *History of Sweden.*

The work was divided between the two authors; the young and vigorous Dr. Schück did the ancient and medieval times, and the veteran Hallendorff, who died on the eve of the publication of this work, did the modern period. Hallendorff's contribution occupies two-thirds of the volume and he has succeeded notably in presenting the results of his own extended researches and those of other scholars on the rise, development, and decline of the Swedish Baltic empire.

The book is not a compilation but an interpretative study in which Sweden—her people and her politics—has been fitted carefully into the larger picture of European history. Emphasis is placed on the political rather than on the general cultural aspects. The importance of personalities in the creation of nations is particularly emphasized.

The work has its defects, as a one volume collaborative work is likely to have. More emphasis might have been given, for example, to the influence of England in the fields of philosophy, literature, and art, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A book intended for an English speaking public might have stressed more strongly the part played by some of the foremost representatives and interpreters of Swedish culture, as Urban Hjärne, the first Swedish member of the Royal Society, Linné and Emanuel Swedenborg, all honored by the English people. Sweden's

colonial interests, although always of minor importance in world affairs, are also neglected. The translation is well done by Mrs. Lajla Yapp, a woman of Swedish birth who has long resided in England. The numerous and excellent illustrations were chosen by Schück who also prepared the Brief Survey of Swedish Literature, added at the end of the work. The publishers have included appendixes on Some Important Swedish Financial and Industrial Concerns and on Noteworthy Endowments for Scientific and Humanitarian Purposes.

The University of California at Los Angeles. DAVID K. BJORK.

Det Norske Folks Liv og Historie gjennem Tidene. Av. Edv. Bull, Wilhelm Keilhau, Haakon Shetelig, og Sverre Steen. (Oslo, Aschehoug and Company, 1929.) Under the editorship of Professor Edvard Bull a new history of Norway has been planned to supplement the monumental *Norges Historie fremstillet for det Norske Folk* which was completed in 1917. The older work emphasized the political and external aspects of Norwegian development and as it was written by men of widely differing political faith it lacked unity and varied in quality. The present series is to be more of a narrative of the life of the people during the different periods. It will dwell more upon the industrial and economic factors than upon the wars and foreign policies. It is to comprise ten volumes and is written by four authors, three of whom will contribute three volumes each. The set began to appear in the autumn of 1929 and since each writer has now published his first book we are able to gain an impression of the character of the whole.

The first volume deals with the prehistoric era to about 1000 A.D. It is written by one of Norway's foremost archæologists, Professor Haakon Shetelig, and in its earlier parts adds considerable new light to the story told of this period in the older work by Alexander Bugge. It devotes more space to political events and outstanding personalities than does the second volume dealing with the next three hundred years. Professor Bull traces the period between 1000 and 1280 and gives what is perhaps the clearest picture that has yet been made of the early legal institutions and social conditions of Norway. He will continue this period and in the next two volumes bring the story down to the opening of the eighteenth century.

The following division is contributed by Sverre Steen, a younger historian, whose archival studies have made possible a revision of some of the older conceptions of the eighteenth century in Norway. His first volume shows careful preparation and gives promise of valuable production in the future.

The modern era, from 1814 to the present, will be covered by a well-known economic historian, Wilhelm Keilhau. Although he stands somewhat outside the historical circles of Norway, his treatment of the period to 1840 is full of interest and will at least bring the attention of other

scholars to the point of view presented. He accords to Charles XIV. John as prominent a place as the statue of this first Bernadotte ruler occupies in the royal courtyard at the end of Karl Johans Gate in Oslo.

The University of California. ERIC CYRIL BELLQUIST.

A History of Russia. By N. Brian Chaninov. Translated from the French by C. J. Hogarth. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 295, $2.50.) The author has attempted to give to his readers an idea of the general trend of Russian history through the medium of a series of sketches, mostly biographies of Russian rulers. The idea may not be bad, but one could doubt whether it is carried out in a satisfactory way. Some details are vivid, but the general characteristics are not always adequate. The medieval period is more carefully dealt with, but as regards the modern period, there is a complete lack of social and economic background. The Russian names and words are not always spelled correctly in the English edition. There are also a few slips, as for example, the Mürzsteg agreement between Russia and Austria-Hungary is dated 1905 instead of 1903.

The bibliography is rather carelessly selected; some French and Russian titles are quoted in English translation without mention of the fact that the books themselves are not in English. The name of the author, as it appears on the book, sounds rather strange to one familiar with Russian names. The original Russian name is Brianchaninov. Now, for one reason or another, both in the French and in the English edition, this name has been cut in two and given as Brian Chaninov. I sympathize with the librarians who have thus to face a dilemma while cataloguing the book.

Yale University. G. VERNADSKY.

Histoire des Stuarts. Par Coissac de Chavrebière. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1930, pp. 358, 30 fr.) In his *Histoire des Stuarts,* M. de Chavrebière has supplied French readers interested in historical subjects with many picturesque biographical sketches as well as much scandal and crime associated with the fortunes of this family in Scotland, France, and England. Unfortunately, however, he has contributed practically nothing of importance for the serious student of history. To be sure, only the ablest historical writer could produce a work of real value under the limitations set by M. de Chavrebière. Three hundred and fifty pages in which to follow the fate of the majority of the members of the house of Stuart from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century would most easily be filled by a genealogist. And bare genealogical accounts are plentiful there, but a good deal more too. For example, an entire page is given over to a description of the baptismal ceremony of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. of England, and more than a fourth of the book is devoted to the last sixty years of the sixteenth century, with Mary, Queen of Scots, as the scin-

tillating star. On the other hand, Charles I.'s relations with his first three parliaments are squeezed into a page and a half. In fact, here the author gives the impression that the arrest by the king in May, 1626, of the two members of Parliament, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, was in a large measure responsible for the Petition of Right (p. 200)! Finally, to justify himself to those versed in history, M. de Chavrebière admits in a thoroughly inadequate bibliography that he has made use of manuscripts and documents chiefly for the period from 1688 to 1713 to which he allots hardly thirty pages.

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

Amerika und Europa von Marlborough bis Mirabeau. Von Ernst F. S. Hanfstaengl, B.A., Dr. Phil. (Munich, Südost-Verlag Adolf Dresler, 1930, pp. 491, 15 M.) The reader must accept this title with a large indulgence, for the central theme of this doctor's dissertation is the Austrian attempt to annex Bavaria as it appeared in eighteenth century diplomatic history in the form of a project to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria. The American reader can safely ignore those sections of the study where this project is brought into relation with American history in 1779 and 1783, for they offer him nothing that is new. The first three chapters present a history of the project down to the Peace of Teschen in 1779, better discussed, it must be admitted, elsewhere. The value of the book, certainly not negligible, lies in the chapters which are devoted to Emperor Joseph II.'s effort to persuade Charles Theodore, the elector of Bavaria, to exchange Bavaria for Belgium in 1784. Although here, too, the author is treading over well worn paths, he offers a considerable amount of fresh material. Perhaps even more valuable than the text is the appendix of seventy odd pages which contains the correspondence between Prince Kaunitz, Joseph II., and Lehrbach, the Austrian envoy in Munich. The thesis of the study, if this somewhat amorphous work can be said to have one, is that the failure of the project in the years from 1785 to 1788 was due not so much to the Association of Princes originated by Frederick the Great, nor to the opposition of France under Vergennes, but chiefly to the fact that Kaunitz and Joseph II. left Great Britain out of the reckoning, although this power was at first favorably disposed toward the project. Angered by the treatment received at the hands of the Austrian statesmen, Great Britain-Hannover (the author accepts the two as identical in this affair) was fairly driven into the Association of Princes, a fact which made the success of the project impossible. In spite of the extravagant statements which the author makes from time to time his thesis is substantially correct. The last chapter, devoted to Washington's farewell address, is irrelevant and pointless. The thirty-four page bibliography at the end of the volume is not complete and the author does not always give evidence that he has taken full advantage of this literature.

The Ohio State University. WALTER L. DORN.

Le Dix Août. Par Albert Mathiez. [Récits d'Autrefois.] (Paris, Hachette, 1931, pp. 127, 7.50 fr.) M. Mathiez's little book, although it forms part of a series addressed to the general reader, will not lack interest for the specialist. In it the author has condensed in very readable fashion his knowledge of the most critical of the Revolutionary "days". The treatment is naturally much fuller than in M. Mathiez's brief history of the Revolution in the Armand Colin collection; there is here the substance, though none of the heaviness and bulk, of a monograph. With careful attention to events in the provinces and in Europe, and with due regard for economic factors, M. Mathiez traces the genesis of the insurrection of August 10 from the first discontent over the royal veto to the final overthrow of the monarchy. Perhaps his chief contribution is a well documented proof, which may be considered final, of the preponderant influence of the section of the Quinze-Vingts and its leader, Santerre, in bringing about the military concentration of the radical sections and the *fédérés* quartered therein on the night of August 9–10. At the same time, he effectually disposes of Aulard's attribution of the dominating rôle to Danton and the section of the Théâtre Français, as well as of the already discredited theory that the secret directory of the *fédérés* took the lead in the movement. His analysis of the part played by Pétion is especially effective. With the statement that proletarians, though they did most of the fighting, did not "exercise on events an original action, and still less a class action" (p. 74) most historians will be in complete accord. In chapter V., L' Insurrection, M. Mathiez displays a talent for straightforward and even exciting narration for which his more polemical writings have given little scope. The book is much less bitter than his previous work, though the Girondins are certainly not spared. M. Mathiez in general avoids, as a conscientious historian, sweeping conclusions. But the statement that "the taking of the Tuileries was . . . the work of all France" ("la France entière", p. 43), is by itself hazardous. It does at least involve an unstated problem—the relation of aggressive minority groups to political action. As M. Mathiez's sentence runs, the assertion is as true and as untrue as an assertion that the signature of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 was the work of all Great Britain.

Harvard University. CRANE BRINTON.

Le Séquestre des Biens Ennemis sous la Révolution Française. Par Pierre Robin, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris, Éditions Spes, 1929, pp. 384, 30 fr.) The value of this book as an historical contribution depends largely upon the interpretation given to the word "contribution". If the word implies the collection and coördination of a mass of factual material, hitherto not available in convenient form, but the general principles of which are already common knowledge among members of the profession, then M. Robin has accomplished a great deal. On the other hand, if, by con-

tribution, we mean something which is an addition to human thought, then M. Robin's work could have been done by a first-rate file-clerk equipped with sufficient 3 x 5 cards, and assisted by an average graduate student. Only on these bases can the book be fairly judged. What is there to say for each side?

The book is really a case book on the subject of the confiscation, as well as the sequestration, of the goods of resident aliens during the Revolution, in fact, to the year 1818. The subject matter, for convenient analysis, may be divided into four sections. The first chapter lists the property of foreigners in France in 1792. Section two (chs. II.–V.) deals with the Revolution proper. The third division (chs. VI. and VII.) has to do with Napoleon's attitude toward the problem. And, lastly, in chapter VIII. comes a narrative of the effects of the Restoration.

In his introduction and conclusion the writer offers what seems to be a justification of France's confiscation of enemy goods during the Great War. He stresses the grounds of economic necessity and indicates that the reasons for similar action in 1792 were political as well as economic. And he sums up the results of his endeavors in the words: ". . . au point de vue économique, la marche des événements fut donc telle que le séquestre devint en réalité très onéreux, et que la France eut à en payer les frais. Si nous nous plaçons au point de vue politique, la question se pose tout différemment: le séquestre fut une mesure de circonstance, dont l'utilité se révéla incontestable."

As a readable piece of literature the book can not be recommended, but this is more the result of its nature and of the current trends in historical writing than of any laxity on the part of the author. Although well documented, there is much inconsistency, and the reader is too frequently left uninformed as to sources for quotations. An excellent critical bibliography groups the materials as to printed and manuscript sources, and is one of the most valuable portions of the work. The index, however, except for proper names, is practically useless.

Western Reserve University. JOHN HALL STEWART.

Les Origines du Système Métrique. Par Adrien Favre, Professeur au Lycée de Toulouse. (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1931, pp. xi, 242, 15 fr.) The first of the four divisions of this book describes the almost incredible diversity of weights and measures in France under the old régime and outlines sporadic efforts at reform which cover a period of about two centuries. The second section indicates the need of reliable units for the precise scientific work which dates from the early part of the seventeenth century and the attendant need that these be universally accepted, so that work done in one country might be readily compared with that done in another. Two lines of thought are discussed: one basing the system of measures on a terrestrial magnitude, the other using the length

of the second's pendulum. The first of these led to the study of the form of the earth, the second to the investigation of the length of the second's pendulum in different latitudes. The frontispiece shows an inscription placed by La Condamine in Quito (1737) which gives an archetype of the second's pendulum for that locality with the words,

Mensuræ Naturalis Exemplar
utinam et Universalis.

The third part of the work deals with the inevitable compromises and with the decision to make a portion of a meridian the base of the new system. This seems to have been prompted by the desire of the Académie des Sciences to undertake a great geodetic project using an instrument recently invented by one of its members, but by basing the measures on a specified arc of a particular meridian, it robbed the system of any intrinsic internationalism.

In the same division of the work the author notes that, of the important characteristics remaining after the concept of a "natural unit" was found to be untenable, the connection between a unit of length and a unit of weight already existed in England (Newton's pupil, Cotes, had discovered that a cubic foot of water weighs almost precisely 1000 ounces), and the decimal division of units was in use in the case of money in the United States. The discussion omits all mention of Simon Stevin, who wrote on the advantages of a decimal division of all weights and measures in 1585.

The last section summarizes the events in the adoption of the metric system in France and in other countries. One of the appendixes contains correspondence between the French ambassador and the secretary of state for foreign affairs relating to England's coöperation in this enterprise in 1790.

In contrast to Bigourdan's earlier discussion (*Le Système Métrique des Poids et Mesures,* Paris, 1901), this volume pays greater attention to the work preliminary to the formation of the metric system, containing fewer of the minutiæ of the actual work, and it is at once more readable and contains more interesting comment.

Western Reserve University. VERA SANFORD.

The Rise of General Bonaparte. By Spenser Wilkinson, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, sometime Chichele Professor of Military History. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. x, 179, $4.25.) This is the final volume of what the author terms a "trilogy", the first and second being *The Defence of Piedmont, 1742–1748,* and the *French Army before Napoleon.* Napoleon is the central figure, but there are three chapters which describe the origin and progress of the war with Sardinia before he was associated with the campaigns. It is needless to emphasize the author's competence in the exposition of military operations. Although the latter part of the volume goes over familiar ground in de-

scribing the campaign of 1796, the narrative has the freshness of a new account. The rôle assigned to Bonaparte at Toulon and during the Italian campaign of 1794 will be questioned by some interpreters of his career. It would seem, if we accept the author's view, that Napoleon did not "rise", but, like Athena, sprang full-armed upon the scene. In the case of Toulon, not the facts but the proportions, the lack of shading, hinder the whole from being a satisfying picture. The young Bonaparte is the sole actor, Dugommier and Du Teil are supernumeraries. The reader misses the qualifying statements of Rose in his *Lord Hood and the Defence of Toulon* or of Chuquet in *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*. The same criticism applies to the chapters on the campaign of 1794 in Italy, when Bonaparte commanded the artillery. He is made to appear almost as completely in control as in 1796. The book is unusually well provided with maps.

B.

Histoire Politique de l'Europe, 1815–1919. Par Edmond Rossier, Professeur d'Histoire Contemporaine et d'Histoire Diplomatique aux Universités de Lausanne et de Genève. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1931, pp. 362, 30 fr.) As its title implies, this *Histoire Politique de l'Europe, 1815–1919,* is an attempt to summarize the political history of Europe within the restricted compass of three hundred and thirty-two pages. In such a brief narrative much of the history of Europe must necessarily be omitted. The author professes to indicate the essential events, to portray the rôles of the principal actors, to treat the domestic history of the European states only in so far as it affected the general course of European history, and to introduce economic facts only where they exercised an important influence. The author should be judged by his success in carrying out this avowed purpose.

As one might expect, in so short a work the author has confined himself to the well known and well established facts of history. He has had an opportunity to show originality only in the organization of his material. His omission of the domestic development of the European states has enabled him to treat Europe as a unit. He devotes the first three of his ten chapters, entitled La Réaction Triomphante, L'Europe Divisée, and L'Europe Agitée, to the struggle between the defenders of the *Ancien Régime* and the liberals that dominated the history of Europe from 1815 to 1848. He mars somewhat, however, an otherwise highly successful presentation of this conflict by designating the Quadruple Alliance, concluded November 20, 1815, as the Holy Alliance, just as the liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century did, and by taking unnecessary liberties with the time order of events which tend to confuse the reader. He discusses in a rather baffling chapter, entitled Le Second Empire Français et les Nationalités, the whole history of the period from 1848 to 1871. He organizes the rest of the book into chapters headed A la Recherche d'un Nouvel Équi-

libre, Équilibre Continental et Politique Coloniale, Les Origines de la Grande Guerre, and La Nouvelle Europe.

In his preface the author expresses the hope that his work may be of use. American readers will find it valuable as an indication of the ideas of a mature and experienced professor of contemporary history, living in neutral Switzerland, in regard to the selection and organization of the facts of European history during the period since 1815.

The University of Wisconsin. C. P. Higby.

Chateaubriand, Héros de l'Aventure Romantique. Par Henry Bérenger. [Figures du Passé.] (Paris, Hachette, 1931, pp. 262, 25 fr.) Following the method, but without the *esprit* of Maurois's *Ariel* and *Byron,* M. Bérenger has written the life of a great *littérateur* with little more than passing reference to his literary achievements. There is perhaps more reason for this than in the case of Shelley or Byron, for Chateaubriand played an important rôle in the movement of public opinion and in the politics and diplomacy of his time.

M. Bérenger follows Chateaubriand's career from his childhood in a castle in Brittany, through the privations of the Emigration—part of which was spent in teaching French to English schoolboys who called him "Mr. Shatterbrains"—to his return to France as the successful author of the *Génie du Christianisme.* From that time (1800) to his death forty-eight years later his life was one long series of political disappointments.

Unlike his contemporaries, Byron and Goethe, Chateaubriand was never willing to accept the life of a mere literary man. He always conceived his career as that of a nobleman and statesman of the *Ancien Régime,* but he lacked both the steadiness and the knowledge of men that such a career demanded. In 1806 he summed up his idea of his destiny in words that remind one of the later career of Lamartine. "Is it not absurd to hold that the genius necessary to create the *Esprit des Lois* is not sufficient to manage a government bureau; to maintain that the better you know men the less able you are to govern?"

M. Bérenger's biography is useful as a summary of the recent studies on the details of Chateaubriand's life. The bibliography at the end surveys these studies. Otherwise his book is thin for it reveals no great knowledge either of the movement of ideas or the political and social structure of the period in which his "Héros de l'Aventure Romantique" lived.

Oberlin College. Frederick B. Artz.

Juillet 1870: le Drame de la Dépêche d'Ems. Par Charles Saurel, ancien Attaché à la Haute Commission Interalliée des Territoires Rhénans. Préface de M. Jules Cambon. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1930, pp. 212, 20 fr.) This book is difficult to classify. An admirable preface from the pen of a distinguished diplomat presents it as history. The author

gives one to understand that he means to write history, though he admits that he is more interested in the picturesque and anecdotic side of the subject than in documentary research. And, indeed, on the basis of a score of printed sources and secondary works, a rather extensive use of German newspapers, exact knowledge of the locality, and "the oral tradition of the rare survivors of those scenes", he gives a more complete and vivid picture than can easily be found elsewhere of the social life at Ems—the comings and goings, the dinners, diversions, and encounters of the illustrious guests there during the quiet spring and tragic summer of 1870. The diplomatic history of the crisis over the Hohenzollern candidacy is also set forth rather fully. But here the author, who has apparently read nothing that has been published on this subject since 1913, merely repeats a traditional account that must now be regarded as on many points untenable.

What is still more serious—he often tells in detail what people said or did on a given occasion when it seems morally certain that he could have no real basis of information, when it is impossible to believe that the "oral tradition of the rare survivers of those scenes" could have helped him out, when one can not but conclude that he is simply exercising his imagination, somewhat in the manner of Thucydides. As an example one may take his lengthy account of the conversations between King William, Bismarck, and Czar Alexander II. at Ems in early June of 1870. To the best of my knowledge, we have no information whatever as to what passed between those three men on that occasion; historians have always yearned to know; and M. Saurel tells us in full—apparently by simply inventing discourses that seem to him appropriate to the situation. But is this history or historical fiction? And as he rarely cites his authorities, similar misgivings pursue one through a large part of the book. It is regrettable that so much industry and good will should have been marred by ignorance of some of the most fundamental canons of historiography.

R. H. L.

L'Occupation Ennemie de la Roumanie et ses Conséquences Économiques et Sociales. Par G. Antipa, Membre de l'Académie Roumaine. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Guerre Mondiale, Série Roumaine, Directeur, James T. Shotwell, Directeur-Adjoint, Dr. David Mitrany.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. xii, 185, $1.00.) Dr. Gregory Antipa, the distinguished biologist who heads the Bucharest Natural History Museum, after having been for many years Haeckel's assistant at Jena, remained in Bucharest during the German occupation as minister of agriculture in the Marghiloman cabinet. His scientific standing and his long experience in Germany gave him the respect of the invaders, and his duties kept him in close touch with his fellow citizens. He made copious notes of his observations; and after the hurried departure of the Germans

in 1918, their immense files of administrative documents were given over to him for study. Some of his material I incorporated into chapter XVII. of *Greater Roumania* (1922); Dr. Antipa was then writing in German a full account of the occupation. The present volume is an abridged translation into French of this longer work. Among the parts eliminated are valuable data on the activities of Roumanian Jews in the German service (important for the study of anti-Semitism in that country), and on the spoliation of the country at Bulgarian hands. There remains, however, abundant material for judgment of the German procedure; their motto was "restlos erfassen", a phrase which the Roumanians found was the equivalent on land for "spurlos versenken". Dr. Antipa gives many picturesque illustrations of this, like the seizure of all the honey without leaving enough for the bees to winter on; shearing sheep twice, so that they perished later with the cold; cutting down the walnut trees; and even shipping out several trainloads of rich humus for the Berlin parks! The Germans also wrecked the financial machinery of the state, as in Belgium, and Dr. Antipa describes their method of inflating the currency, to their profit. This graphic and fully documented account of the occupation is recommended to anyone who may be disposed to criticize Roumania for the slow course of her economic and financial recovery. The book is admirably written and printed (in Fontenay-aux-Roses), and there is a good index.

New York City. CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Carnet de Route de la Mission Saharienne Foureau Lamy, 1898–1900: l'Épopée Saharienne. Rédigé par le Général Reibell, ancien Commandant de l'Escorte de la Mission. Préface du Général de Chambrun. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. xxiii, 422, 40 fr.) In April, 1900, three French expeditions met and united their forces at Lake Tchad for one common purpose—the elimination of the Egyptian adventurer, Rabah, and the destruction of his Central African empire. A study of French colonial history of that period rather suggests that neither the French government nor the leaders of the three expeditions, with the possible exception of Gentil, fully appreciated the importance of eliminating Rabah at just that time.

Of the leaders of these expeditions, Gentil published, in 1903, *La Chute de l'Empire de Rabah,* still the best account of that episode. In 1902 Foureau, the scientist of the Foureau-Lamy mission, published *D'Alger au Congo par le Tchad,* followed in 1905 by his *Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Foureau-Lamy,* a work of great value. In 1923, Meynier, one of the heroes of the ill-fated Central African mission, published *Les Conquérants du Tchad.* General Reibell has now, after thirty years, given us his diary of the Foureau-Lamy expedition of which he, as Captain Reibell, was in command of the military escort.

Captain Reibell had had ten years of army life several of which had been spent in the northern Sahara. His diary is that of a soldier, trained

to observe, who writes well of the then little known country, of the various types of natives, and of his fellow officers. He is perhaps at his best in the earlier portion of his narrative where he is more at home. The Foureau-Lamy expedition was essentially a scientific and political mission across the Sahara to Tchad. After joining the Central African and Congo missions it became a military expedition for war against Rabah. There are some interesting illustrations and a good map, but the work is not indexed and there is no bibliography.

Cambridge. GEORGE F. ANDREWS.

The International City of Tangier. By Graham H. Stuart, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. xiii, 323, $4.00.) This volume is an interesting study of one of the few cases of an international administration of territory. At a number of points comparisons with the concessions in China suggest themselves. The book also fits into the general diplomatic history of recent years, and illustrates a classic case of a backward state progressively brought under European economic and political control.

Two points have determined the history of Tangier, its peculiarly strategic position at the mouth of the Mediterranean and the fact that foreign diplomatic representatives resided there, while the sultan made his capital inland. The first fact made it impossible for any one European state, particularly one of the greater powers, to secure exclusive control; the second led to the development of a sort of international organization for managing the lighthouse and local sanitation, under powers delegated by the sultan.

In the international diplomacy preceding the French protectorate of 1912 a more definitely international status for Tangier and its zone was discussed, but not until 1923 was a French-British-Spanish agreement reached. This could not become effective until the demands of Italy for recognition and participation were admitted in 1928. The United States, however, still refuses to accept the new order, and acts in accordance with earlier treaties with the sultan.

The resulting situation is very involved. Technically, Moroccan sovereignty remains, and all international activities are by virtue of powers delegated by the sultan. But France dominates the sultan. The author concludes that the international administration has not been an outstanding success. "The primary purpose of providing a satisfactory and effective international machinery for the administration of the city was constantly sacrificed to selfish political ends" (p. 155). The native inhabitants are not directly represented in the governing machinery. Authority is not centralized, responsibility is divided, and efficiency suffers. The economic position of the zone is "impossible".

The United States coöperated in all international arrangements in Tangier until the 1923 statute was proposed. The author approves of our pres-

ent refusal to coöperate. The success of the new régime is not yet assured. We can better protect our own interests under the old system. "If the Powers finally devise a statute truly international, which provides a satisfactory solution for problems which the present statute has raised, the United States may well return to her former policy of active participation and throw the full force of her influence toward making possible in the international city of Tangier a successful co-operative administration of the nations."

Important documents are included in an appendix.

The University of Chicago. ARTHUR P. SCOTT.

The History of Peace: a Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace. By A. C. F. Beales, M.A., sometime Inglis Student in the University of London. (New York, Dial Press, 1931, pp. viii, 355, $4.00.)

The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century. By Christina Phelps, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, no. 330.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 230, $3.50.) The first of these books tells the story of the peace movement from 1815 to 1914; the se ond from 1815 to 1873, with special emphasis on the dozen years from 1840 to 1853. Both authors introduce their historical accounts with analytical and philosophical comments on the peace movement as a whole; and both show conclusively that in it, as in most things else, there is nothing new under the sun. The attack upon war and the justification of peace rested in the last century upon the same reason and almost the same experience as they do to-day. The propagandist organization for war and armaments, and for pacific settlement and disarmament, is different only in degree. The methods used are the same, except that we have now the none too reliable movies and radio.

The peace societies and peace congresses, the attempt to codify international law, the arbitration movement, the attack on armaments, the results of economic internationalism, and the efforts toward political internationalism, which Miss Phelps describes succinctly and well; Mr. Beales's graphic account of the decline of the peace movement after 1853, its revival after 1867, its great expansion after 1899, and its nemesis after 1914, all enforce the lessons of common sense and experience which are being learned with such difficulty and reluctance by the popular mind to-day.

The last fifty odd pages of Mr. Beales's book follow the peace movement through the valley of the shadow of 1914–1918 and into the light of the international community which has been dawning, slowly and fitfully, but none the less surely, since 1918. The conclusion of his careful and helpful study is that an enlightened self-interest, "long sublimated into interdependence", is leading to the restriction of national sovereignty within a world

federation, as foreshadowed in the "Congress of Nations" proposed by William Ladd in 1823, which will mean the organized peace of the world.

Miss Phelps presents us in a dozen pages with a comparative outline of the American Plan of 1840 and the Covenant of the League of Nations, which shows at a glance the close resemblance of our ways to-day with those of our fathers; but her book does much to sustain the conclusion that the failure of the earlier movement to reach the goal was no proof that either that movement or our own is on the wrong road.

Both books include a selected bibliography and an index.

Swarthmore College. WILLIAM I. HULL.

Die Anschlussfrage, in ihrer Kulturellen, Politischen, und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung. Herausgegeben von Friedrich F. G. Kleinwaechter und Heinz von Paller. (Vienna, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1930, pp. xxvii, 656, 20 M.) This volume is a successful attempt to set forth in a scholarly fashion the bases of the *Anschluss* idea, together with its relation to many other problems and situations. It is the coöperative work of some forty-five scholars and specialists—chiefly Austrian or German, is edited by two Austrians who have long championed the *Anschluss* movement, and discusses that movement from almost every conceivable angle.

A hundred page history of the *Anschluss* idea is followed by a consideration of its relation to a Pan-Europe or a Middle-Europe, to a Danubian confederation, to the foreign policies of France, Italy, Great Britain, and the Succession States, and to world politics in general. Evidence of Austro-German cultural unity is presented conclusively and the economic aspects of the *Anschluss* are carefully examined. A description of the organizations working for the union, the attitude of Austrian and German political parties, Vienna's place in the proposed state, the *Anschluss* as a social problem, and its relation to the problem of minorities are all touched upon. Finally, a section is devoted to the steps which have been taken or may be taken toward a realization of the *Anschluss.* Fifteen maps and an excellent bibliography add to the value of the volume which, although lacking an index, has an elaborate and full table of contents. This veritable mine of information on the *Anschluss* and all its ramifications undoubtedly constitutes the classic presentation of the case for the political union of Austria and Germany.

Indiana University. F. LEE BENNS.

George Washington, the Son of his Country, 1732–1775. By Paul van Dyke. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. 310, $2.50.) This is neither a eulogy nor a "debunking" psycho-analysis. As the dates in the title indicate, it makes no claim to be a complete biography. The author avows his purpose to be an effort "to untangle what came to [Washington] from environment and what in him was superior to environment". In this effort he has been singularly successful.

Three chapters are devoted to Washington's boyhood, work as a surveyor and frontier fighter before 1755. The next presents the Braddock campaign, after which three deal with Washington's trials and successes as commander of the frontier forces, 1755–1758. Seven chapters depict, concisely and convincingly, the domestic, agricultural, social, religious, and political phases of Washington's life for the next twenty years. After two chapters upon the approach of the Revolution, the author closes his study with a chapter on Washington, the man. It is decidedly the sanest and most accurate which has come under the present reviewer's eye.

"Five fundamental qualities which enabled Washington to carry the terrible burdens which life brought him" were: courage, both physical and moral; good judgment, "easy to recognize but hard to define"; the power to win the hearts of men; "magnanimity joined to a sense of duty"; goodness. The author considers the fourth quality Washington's "most dominant characteristic", yet adds that the "unique element in his greatness is his goodness". Not the Puritanical goodness of a zealot like Cromwell, or the saintly piety of Francis of Assisi, but that homely, solid integrity of soul which makes itself felt by all who come into contact with its possessor, which causes others—both weak and strong—to rely upon its possessor with absolute confidence.

Separated from the context this enumeration of noble traits may sound dangerously like undiscriminating laudation. No one who has read the previous chapters carefully can fall into such an error. Washington's mistakes and defects are given their full share of space. But even the cursory reader will realize that these defects are not the whole Washington; that Washington was not great because of his faultlessness, but great—as are all great human beings—in spite of his faults. This book depicts a great man, not a demigod.

It is superfluous to comment on the charm of Dr. van Dyke's style.

Hamilton College. MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Light-horse Harry Lee. By Thomas Boyd. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. 359, $3.50.) This is a fascinating story, a story that has needed to be told in order that justice might be done to one of the most picturesque and forthright characters in our early national history. "Light-horse Harry" Lee, born to wealth and position, greatly distinguished in his youth, honored by repeated election to high public office, trusted by Washington whom he immortalized as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen", and finally, because of debts accumulated through careless optimism, thrown into jail to satisfy his creditors—Lee's life was indeed one of tragedy, of frustration touched with irony. After wandering through the West Indies in search of health, he set out for home. But fate still pursued him. He was compelled to land at an island off the Georgia coast, too ill to proceed further, and there, in the

home of his revered commander, Nathanael Greene, he died, "another of those patriots that our country 'in Congress assembled' so freely speak of and so little assist" when in need.

Since the brief biography by his famous son, Robert E. Lee, there has been no satisfactory account of Lee's distinguished and tragic career. But here the whole poignant story has been told. It is not a military history, but rather a narrative biography that seeks to render tardy justice to a gallant soldier and a brave but unfortunate man. There is no critical comment on Lee's military career and insufficient credit is given General Greene for his able conduct of the Southern campaign. Though Lee was a stanch Federalist, the author has a distinct anti-Hamiltonian bias, nowhere more evident than in the Jeffersonian and not too accurate recital of the events of that first national tempest in a teapot, the Whisky Insurrection. The account of the preposterous Baltimore riot, in which Lee suffered grievous wounds that hastened his death, is given at length. The author recreates Lee as a forceful, appealing, and dynamic character who was his own worst enemy—lavish, trusting, unduly optimistic, and too careless of agreements entered into.

There is an excellent background picture of Virginia plantation life. There are no footnotes, but the bibliography and list of manuscript sources indicate careful research. There are few errors and there is a good index.

Great Neck, N. Y. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army. Edited by Otis G. Hammond, Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Volume I., 1771–1777. [Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, volume 13.] (Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930, pp. xviii, 629.) In a letter to Mesech Weare, dated February 13, 1777, General Sullivan expresses scorn for warriors who do their fighting on foolscap, yet few commanders have refought their battles more vigorously on paper than this son of New Hampshire himself. He was often called upon to justify his martial performances at the bar of public opinion and at these times he flourished the pen as lustily in his own defense as he did the sword on less literary occasions. This is evident in the present volume, the contents of which are derived principally from the rich collection of Sullivan manuscripts in the New Hampshire state archives and in the New Hampshire Historical Society, although many other sources of material have been tapped. Besides the *Letters and Papers* proper, the book contains a biographical sketch of Sullivan by the Reverend Alonzo H. Quint. Since this was composed about forty years ago, it is regrettable that Mr. Hammond did not try his own hand at a fresh and objective appraisal of Sullivan on the basis of the material now in process of publication. If the *Papers* contain nothing strikingly new, they embody much that is interesting and illustrative of what is already known respecting the siege

of Boston, the Canadian campaign of 1775–1776, and the operations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1777. Their chief value lies in the light which they shed upon the personality and services of Sullivan during the first half of the Revolution. His energy, boldness, intense devotion to the patriot cause, sensitiveness, disputatiousness, and ardent sectionalism are impressively manifest. The strictures passed by Bancroft and later historians upon his management of the descent upon Staten Island on August 21, 1777, and his conduct at the Battle of Brandywine find their reply, if not their refutation, in these documents. They show that while the former expedition terminated disappointingly, the result was due not to absence of skill and foresight on the part of Sullivan but to circumstances over which he had no control. As for the Battle of Brandywine, if Washington's letter of October 24, 1777, were not sufficient to exonerate Sullivan from any large measure of culpability for the outcome, the other correspondence here presented would go far to achieve that result. In these and other instances the *Papers* facilitate the formation of an accurate estimate of the part played by Sullivan in the military operations of the Revolution between 1775 and 1777.

Wellesley College. EDWARD E. CURTIS.

Archives of Maryland. Volume XLVII., subseries 7, *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, Letters to the Governor and Council, 1781.* Edited by J. Hall Pleasants. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1930, pp. vii, 609.) The great majority of the letters in this volume pertain to Maryland's activities in support of the Revolution. Of the problems involved in that support, the obtaining of supplies was at once the most difficult, the most serious, and the most constant. From the journals of Congress, from the letters of its members, those of General Washington, and those of the chief commissary officers we gain a general view of the needs of the army and of the everlasting problem of finding ways and means of supporting it, a problem which was immensely aggravated in the period to which this volume relates by the want of money. The letters here presented afford a close-up view of the problem, or rather problems, as they affected one of the states in or near the region of military activities. For Maryland the problem became particularly acute when the French and American forces passed by land and water across the state on their way to Yorktown, and again became only less serious when, after the surrender of Cornwallis, the troops returned northward across the state. The letters of Henry Hollingsworth, commissary for the Eastern Shore, are particularly informing on this head.

The problem of recruiting, itself always difficult, was not so serious in Maryland in 1781 as it had been at other times, but letters in this volume throw light also on this phase of the struggle for independence. Inciden-

tally the volume gives us a glimpse of one of those occasional flare-ups of Tory revolt, of especial interest for the reason that it came almost at the moment of victory.

It is from such intimate sources as these that a real understanding of the Revolution is obtained. The editing of the materials has been done in the usual careful manner.

Division of Historical Research, EDMUND C. BURNETT.
The Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The Kentuckie Country: an Historical Exposition of Land Interest in Kentucky prior to 1790, coupled with Facsimile Reproductions of the London, 1786, Brochure of Alexander Fitzroy, and the "Whatman" Edition of John Filson's Map. By Willard Rouse Jillson, Sc.D., State Geologist of Kentucky. With Critical Comment on Filson's Map, by Lawrence Martin, Ph.D., Chief, Division of Maps, Library of Congress. (Washington, D. C., H. L. and J. B. McQueen, 1931, pp. 63, $3.25.) This slender volume shows what a wealth of bibliographical and cartographical interest may be wrapped up in a small compass, and what careful study and research may bring to light concerning the interest to be found in early Western imprints. The book is in three parts: an essay on early Kentucky history and exploration by the author; a facsimile reprint of Fitzroy's plagiarism of Filson's history; and Colonel Lawrence Martin's discussion of the various states or editions of Filson's map of Kentucky. Dr. Jillson's portion shows the influence of his profession as geologist; he also writes a very readable and broadly visioned sketch of the early thrust of the Anglo-Americans into Kentucky. In discussing its French explorers he omits Joliet and credits Hennepin with a voyage which historians think was never taken. He also proves Fitzroy's plagiarism of Filson and the shadowy character of this "first literary pirate" in the field of Kentucky literature.

Colonel Martin's essay is a supplement to his former discussion in the Filson facsimile of 1929. It is admittedly tentative and based on the findings of R. C. Ballard Thruston and Mabel C. Weaks, the latter published in the September, 1930, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* The entire volume is proof that the "land interest in Kentucky prior to 1790" was very widespread, and that more light may yet be expected on the character and number of publications concerning the then Far West.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. LOUISE PHELPS KELLOG.

The John Askin Papers. Edited by Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-Editor, the Burton Historical Commission. Volume II., 1796–1820. (Detroit, Detroit Library Commission, 1931, pp. 829.) The second volume of *The John Askin Papers* deals mainly with the development of the region about Detroit, a development which the surrender of Detroit to the United States

in 1796 greatly stimulated. Those who, like Askin, desired to remain British subjects crossed the Detroit River to reside on Canadian soil, while there was an influx of Americans into Detroit. Despite the drawing of the international boundary line, the settlements on either side of the river remained essentially one community, whose unity the ready intermingling of races helped to maintain. Thus in the veins of different members of the Askin family in the second and third generations there flowed Irish, French, Indian, Scotch, English, and American blood.

The later portion of Askin's career illustrates the rapid economic transformation of the region. From fur trading, no longer profitable at Detroit, he turned to farming, general merchandising, and land speculation. This last, as so often in a rapidly growing community, appears to have been the quickest road to wealth.

The establishment of American control at Detroit was followed by no unpleasant political consequences. An abundance of judges made easy the collection of debts, and in the validating of land titles speculators like Askin found the American courts no more troublesome than the Canadian. For Askin and his friends the War of 1812 was a tragedy. There is abundant evidence here that they dreaded war, and none that they desired it. On the Detroit frontier that war had something of the character of a civil war. Askin's four sons, a son-in-law, and several grandsons served with the British, while one son-in-law commanded the Michigan territorial militia at the siege of Detroit. The diary and letters of Charles Askin throw considerable light on the Detroit campaign of 1812 and the Niagara campaigns of 1812 and 1813. The conduct of the American troops while on the Canadian side of the river during the invasions of 1812 and 1813 is here commended, but there are numerous illustrations of the unruliness of the Indian allies of the British. During the invasion of 1813 John Askin received a letter of protection from General Harrison and remained unmolested on his farm at Sandwich. His death in April, 1815, was probably hastened by the war, for, as a direct result of it, his youngest daughter and a son-in-law lost their lives, and during Harrison's invasion the family was widely scattered. Thus Askin's career, which illustrates nearly every phase of British activity in the Northwest, closed, not unfittingly, at the moment when British influence south of the Great Lakes was practically destroyed.

Williams College. A. H. Buffinton.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., late Professor in Smith College. Volume V., 1833–1838. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931, pp. xxiv, 576, $3.75 unbound; $4.75 bound.) The general characteristics of the writings of Andrew Jackson, edited by the late Professor John S. Bassett, have been described in reviews of the earlier volumes. With the present volume, the fifth, this notable series approaches its end; only one more volume remains

to be published. As in the case of the preceding volumes, the introduction has been contributed by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

The material comprised in this volume extends, in point of time, over the years from 1833 to 1838; that is, from the last months of Jackson's first presidential term through the whole of the second Jackson administration nearly to the middle of the régime of Van Buren. In the correspondence, Van Buren, naturally, looms large, as do Francis P. Blair, Amos Kendall, William B. Lewis, and James K. Polk. With others a more or less extended correspondence flourished for a time, as with Joel R. Poinsett, in the early part of 1833, when Poinsett in South Carolina was keeping Jackson informed as to the progress of events in that state, with William J. Duane, at the time when the removal of the deposits was at issue, and with Roger Brooke Taney, on several occasions and in different connections, all, however, relating to financial matters. Of particular interest in these communications of Taney are the draft of a message for the veto of the "deposit" bill of 1836, another letter, in which Taney, in view of the apparently slight changes which Congress had made in the bill, justified Jackson's acceptance of it, though still disapproving the measure, and a long review, in a letter of July 3, 1837, of the period of the panic. Another significant and interesting interchange of letters was that between Jackson and the aged Nathaniel Macon, to whom Jackson wrote in an endeavor to commend to Macon his own position in regard to nullification—but without satisfactory results. There is also a series of letters to and from the unworthy Colonel Anthony Butler, upon Mexican affairs, and a more admirable group from Edward Livingston, at the time when Livingston, as minister to France, had in hand the difficult matter of the French indemnity. As in earlier volumes, the general's more tender qualities are here further portrayed in his family letters, particularly those to Andrew J. Donelson, to Andrew Jackson, jr., to Andrew J. Hutchings, and to connections and friends such as Colonel John Coffee, his son John D. Coffee, and Colonel Robert Armstrong. S.

Joseph Hopkinson, 1770–1842, Jurist, Scholar, Inspirer of the Arts. By Burton Alva Konkle. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931, pp. xii, 361, $4.00.) Because of the highly technical nature of a lawyer's work, fame acquired in the practice of law is usually short lived. This is one of the conclusions that can be drawn from Mr. Konkle's biography, for he shows that Joseph Hopkinson, now vaguely remembered by most of his fellow countrymen as the son of Francis Hopkinson and the author of "Hail Columbia", was one of the greatest jurists of his time.

Great natural ability, a thorough general education, excellent legal training under the best lawyers in Philadelphia, and the prestige arising from the fact that both his father and grandfather had been famous judges, all combined to advance Joseph Hopkinson at an early age to the front rank

of American lawyers. In the libel suit of Dr. Benjamin Rush against the famous English journalist, William Cobbett, in the defense of leaders in the Fries Rebellion, in the impeachment trial of Justice Samuel Chase before Congress, as the associate of Webster in the Dartmouth College case and in other famous cases he confronted the ablest legal talent in the land and proved himself the peer of Story, Webster, and Marshall.

Like his father before him Hopkinson was a versatile genius. In youth he wrote essays for literary societies to which he belonged and later he contributed to the *Port Folio,* edited by his friend, Joseph Dennie. He was the author of a number of poems, the most famous of which is "Hail Columbia", written to a popular air and long used as the rallying song of the Federalists. According to tradition, he was the editor of the first edition of Shakespeare published in America.

Mr. Konkle has done valuable work in collecting the chief facts about the life of this eminent American. If he at times has difficulty in blending the technical and popular material with which he deals, the many-sided character of his subject is largely responsible. The book is an important addition to that library of biographies of distinguished Philadelphians which this eminent scholar already has to his credit.

The University of Arkansas. GEORGE E. HASTINGS.

Ioway to Iowa: the Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth. By Irving Berdine Richman. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, B. F. Shambaugh, Editor.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1931, pp. 479.) Ī-oway to Ī-uh-wuh would have been an appropriate form for the title of Mr. Richman's latest book. A miscellaneous lot of gleanings from scattered printed records have been compiled for the convenience of those interested in Iowa history. Critical comments and notes in the appendix constitute a valuable bibliographical guide, the fruit of a scholar's long study of his subject. The material is concerned with the genesis of the state, and ends with the early 'seventies of the nineteenth century, in fact, in most respects with the 'fifties.

The author's concern about the literary appeal of his book causes him to employ odd phrasing as a device for achieving an attractive style. Chapter headings are made to contribute their share—A Sharp Turn, Iowa projects a Thumb and a Finger, Vision and Exodus, Corn and the Bible. The most valuable, certainly the most interesting portion of the volume deals with the passing of the Westward movement over the Iowa prairies. It is probably superfluous to say that editorial and typographical work are altogether satisfying.

Western Reserve University. ELBERT J. BENTON.

Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844–1847. By James Josiah Webb. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber, Associate Professor of History, Washington Uni-

versity. [The Southwest Historical Series, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, volume I.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1931, pp. 301, $6.00.) We have here the first of the twelve announced volumes that are to comprise The Southwest Historical series. The initial volume contains new and important source material, is well edited, and indicates great promise for the series as a whole.

Although written about forty years after the events recounted, the Webb journal is an informing and fairly accurate narrative. At the age of twenty-six Webb began his career as a trader to Santa Fé. He freighted goods to New Mexico in 1844, 1845, and 1846. His adventurous third trip was to carry him far afield. The wagon caravan entered Santa Fé ahead of General Kearny's "Army of the West" and then continued through the north Mexican states and penetrated almost to Mexico City. Webb was held as a prisoner for several weeks, he traded at the famous Fair of San Juan de los Lagos, took refuge in the mint at Chihuahua during the Battle of Sacramento, and had other interesting and exciting adventures. He prospered in the Santa Fé trade and continued in the business for seventeen years.

Webb's journal takes up the story of the Santa Fé Trail and trade at about the point where Josiah Gregg's famous *Commerce of the Prairies* left off. The importance of the period covered—1844–1847—makes the additional material presented most welcome. The journal gives good data on the character and hazards of the trail, the varieties of goods and the methods of the trade, the crafty exactions of Mexican officials, and the devices of traders to escape the imposts. There are good descriptions of the houses, business, and life in Santa Fé, and of the general conditions in the territory to the southward.

Dr. Bieber's editorial notes are carefully made. They include short biographical sketches of most of Webb's contemporaries mentioned in the narrative. A number of illustrations and a good map are presented and the book appears in the publisher's excellent and well-known format. The index awaits the last volume of the series.

The State Historical Society of Colorado. LeRoy R. Hafen.

Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776–1860: a Study in the Evolution of Democracy. By Fletcher M. Green, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. [The University of North Carolina Social Studies Series.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. xiv, 328, $4.00.) The states included in this study are Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. This selection was made on the ground that these states, all having been colonies, represented a more similar and unified development along constitutional lines than that which the South as a whole underwent. The author searches the colonial background for those principles and practices which were brought across the chasm of the Revolution and in-

corporated into the state constitutions, and he brings out the contributions of the Revolution itself. Then for the remainder of the book, with great care and industry, he goes into the writing of the original constitutions of these five states, their rewritings at various times, and the incorporation of the multifarious amendments to them at other times. The analysis becomes somewhat tedious as each of the five states is repeatedly put through the process; but this is no fault of the author, for he writes in a clear, straightforward style, which makes for easy reading. He enlivens the dreary wastes of repeated constitutional arguments and principles by producing the background out of which they sprang. The value of this study does not lie so much in the compilation of the successive principles as they were adopted in each of the five states, but rather in the discovery of the causes back of this progress and in the interpretation of the progress itself.

The constitutions were originally written by the aristocratic element in each state, and until the outbreak of the Civil War the aristocrats fought to maintain themselves against the reforming masses. The struggle largely expressed itself in the struggle of the upcountry to wrest control of the state governments from the tidewater regions—a contest that was present in every state but particularly pronounced in North Carolina and Virginia. The most outstanding principles around which the contest ranged were the extension of the suffrage, the redistribution of seats in the legislature, and the adoption of modified forms of counting population for the purpose of representation. The trend everywhere was toward more democratic institutions, and by the outbreak of the Civil War these five Southern states had recorded in their constitutions many new principles of popular government.

This book is well written and well printed, and it has an excellent bibliography and an analytical index.

The University of Georgia. E. M. Coulter.

A History of Minnesota. By William Watts Folwell. In four volumes. Volume IV. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1930, pp. xiii, 575.) This fourth volume of the *History of Minnesota* is quite frankly not a completion or rounding out of the history of that vigorous commonwealth as set down in the three earlier volumes. It is a series of six critical essays of monographic proportions, of high social and political interest. They gain permanent value from the fact that the author had intimate, personal knowledge of the transactions and discussions involved and of all the constructive, even picturesque, personalities of the last half century of the North Star state.

A history of the development of the vast iron ore deposits is presented with delightful clarity and succinctness probably not found elsewhere. The "tragic and often sordid record" of the dealings of the white men with the Chippewa Indians and their lands deserves the whole chapter given to it. Two chapters are devoted to education, one dealing with the University of

Minnesota, of which the author was first president (1867–1884). Particular reference is made to agricultural education and to medical education including the notable Mayo Foundation, to the public school system, its organization, funds, and the experiment with coördination of the churches, chiefly Roman Catholic, with the public school system, known as the Faribault plan.

Under the clever title of The Acts of the Apostles are summarized the careers and services of twelve leaders of the state in education, science, art, public charity, jurisprudence, forestry, and labor. Like the author himself these "apostles", with whom he coöperated actively during five decades, were significant figures in the progress of the nation as well as of the state of Minnesota, and their voices, as in the case of Maria L. Sanford, Thomas B. Walker, and Hastings Hart, were heard throughout the land.

To this, the concluding volume, are appended eighty pages given to a helpful, consolidated index of the four volumes.

Much of praise and very little of criticism should be given to the editor and to the Minnesota Historical Society as well as to the distinguished author for the dignified and worthy completion of this scholarly work. It sets a high standard for future contributions to state or sectional scholarship.

The University of Illinois. KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

The Foreign Relations of the Federal State. By Harold W. Stoke, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, the University of Nebraska. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Volumes, New Series, no. 14.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. vii, 245, $2.25.) This monograph fulfills all the requirements of a conventional doctoral dissertation, which indeed it apparently is. The allocation of such a subject for such a purpose was judicious, and the choice of student for it is justified by the general excellence of the treatment. While the original contribution to knowledge is not great, it is well to have so decently exhibited within the covers of one book a study of the relation of federal states to the theory and practice of diplomacy. The work goes into historical background only slightly, relying on treaties, digests, and commentaries. One finds no mention, for example, of the use of state authority for the execution of international obligations of the United States, such as was exercised during Washington's presidency. The author overlooks (p. 194) the distinction between the repudiated financial obligations of the states of the Southern Confederacy and those of Southern (carpetbag) states under the restored Federal régime. Nevertheless, we have here a helpful piece of work, well written, which will be consulted steadily by specialists as the multiplying contacts of international relations impinge more and more on the concerns of everyday life, so many of which fall within the purview of constituent states of federal unions.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Interpretations of American Foreign Policy. By George H. Blakeslee, Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University; Percy Ellwood Corbett, Dean of the Law School, McGill University; George Young, former Chargé d'Affaires in the British Diplomatic Service; Victor Andres Belaunde, former Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru; Yusuke Tsurumi, former Member of the Japanese Parliament. Edited by Quincy Wright. [Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1930.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. ix, 261, $3.00.) The Harris Foundation Lectures given during the summer of 1930 at the University of Chicago now appear in book form. Four of the five contributors are foreigners whose reputation and experience amply qualify them to discuss the topics assigned and convey to the American people the reaction of outsiders to our foreign policy. To open the discussions and to complete the picture Professor Blakeslee was enlisted to outline the subject from the inside. He performs his task with his usual skill and tact, interpreting the problems in the recent foreign relations of the United States in the light of the factors that produce them. He is at his best in estimating public opinion and the extent to which it affects the conduct of the Department of State.

In the second lecture Dean Corbett presents Canada's concern in our foreign policy. What hostility exists in his country he attributes less to disagreement in matters of general policy than to particular questions such as water diversion and the tariff. The attitude of Europe and the United Kingdom toward the United States is treated by George Young, that of Latin America by Professor Belaunde. The latter subjects the recognition and unilateral intervention policy of the United States to polite but firm criticism. The one, he holds, can not be justified in the juridical field, the other should give way to the principle of "collective intervention".

In three lectures on the Far East and the United States Yusuke Tsurumi emphasizes not merely Japan's attitude toward this country but also the challenge of an overpopulated nation standing at the parting of the ways unable to decide what course to pursue but determined to move on. Should coördination with America, Great Britain, and Japan fail to develop, he anticipates a socialistic nation forced in the direction of a new confederation of Asiatic peoples.

The series is well balanced and touches practically every important phase of American foreign policy. Russian relations alone of the major problems are inadequately treated.

New York University. LEO J. MEYER.

L'Évolution des Idées et des Mœurs Américaines. Par Firmin Roz. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique.] (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1931, pp. 281, 12 fr.)

De Roosevelt à Hoover, 1910–1930. Par Firmin Roz. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. iii, 295, 15 fr.) If American publishers would translate the works

of Firmin Roz instead of such French attacks on American civilization as Lehman's *The American Illusion* or Duhamel's *America, the Menace,* we would get a very different impression of the French attitude toward us. M. Roz is both critical and sympathetic, well informed as to the external facts but able also to grasp the subtler undercurrents of national psychology. He has the first qualification of a student, he is in love with his subject. *L'Évolution des Idées et des Mœurs Américaines* has as its main thesis American idealism and opens with an appreciative study of the transcendentalist movement as a basis of American life. *De Roosevelt à Hoover* emphasizes some of the more generous energies in our national politics, such as Roosevelt's crusade for the "New Nationalism" and Wilson's for a still newer internationalism.

Both books, it must be confessed, have a rather journalistic and disconnected character. They are less histories than collections of occasional essays. They quote voluminously from other writers, mainly French or American, and all is fish that comes to their net, from Henry van Dyke to Upton Sinclair, and from Herbert Croly to Nicholas Murray Butler. One meets the Indian who insisted on voting for "Uncle Sam" at a presidential election, and then is whisked away to a discussion of anti-Catholic prejudice, the financial difficulties of women's colleges, the novels of Sinclair Lewis, and the verse of Carl Sandburg. In the text we read of the probability of the election of Herbert Hoover to the presidency in 1928, and only in the footnote is the result of the election stated (*De Roosevelt à Hoover,* p. 230). This journalistic impression is strengthened by occasional superficialities and inaccuracies. An example of the former is the citation of statistics from Upton Sinclair with the footnote admission that they had not been checked but claim to have been taken from official documents (*L'Évolution des Idées,* p. 127). An example of the latter is the description of the New York *World* as "the organ of Wall Street" in the time of President Roosevelt (*De Roosevelt à Hoover,* p. 15). The conventional reproaches are brought against American foreign policy; for example, that the United States is always willing to intervene in European affairs when Germany needs financial help but returns to "splendid isolation" whenever aid might be given to France (*ibid.,* p. 204). But while historians of either country could learn little from these random cross sectionings of contemporary American life, the average Frenchman could gain much information that he needs and the average American could gain much understanding that he lacks.

The University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

Our American Music, Three Hundred Years of it. By John Tasker Howard. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1931, pp. xxiii, 713, $6.00.) This is not a history of music in America. The author explicitly limits himself to "an account of the music that has been written in Amer-

ica", not a "history of musical activities". It is not, and does not pretend to be, the work of a professional historian modeled on established academic lines. Documentation and source registration are not part of the author's scheme of presentation. The book is not written for the musical scholar. It is calculated for a larger circle of readers, and the author does not scorn to drop occasionally into colloquialism and "journalese".

Taken all in all, however, the book is the most comprehensive, the most just, and (apart from the lack of full source references) the most useful and reliable survey of American music that has yet been published. The greater portion of the work is made up of a succession of biographical sketches of individual composers with more or less condensed critical remarks on their compositions and the significance of their work in the scheme of American musical development. A few general essays maintain the historical connections. Our Folk-Music, for example, is a very acceptable summary. In the critical passages Mr. Howard displays, especially in the last 250 pages of the text, which deal with recent and contemporary composers, an unusually happy faculty for brief but clear, forceful, and striking characterization, combined with an impartial judgment and a freedom from bias upon which he is to be congratulated.

The author has not been able to indulge in original research for every phase of his presentation. Where, as in the first few chapters, he has relied on the work of earlier historians, his exposition gives evidence of the free and judicious use of the work of Sonneck, Metcalf, and Seilhamer, among others. For the first half of the nineteenth century, where reliable predecessors are few, he has actually been able to add original material for which historical scholars will surely be grateful. The information on Graupner, on Anton Philip Heinrich, the Hewitt family, or William Henry Fry, has not been available in earlier summaries of American music.

The welcome bibliography of printed compositions in the larger instrumental forms (appendix I.), would have been infinitely more valuable if the publication dates had been added. The twenty-five page bibliography of books and periodical articles on American music (appendix III.) shows that we are not altogether so poor in this field as many might suppose. Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage* should not have been omitted from this bibliography.

Cornell University. OTTO KINKELDEY.

A Brief History of the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Jamaica. By Frank Cundall. (Kingston, Institute of Jamaica, 1931, pp. 75, 2 s. 6 d.) This well written, beautifully illustrated, and superbly printed little volume represents local history at its best. It is both comprehensive and authoritative and, in marked contrast to most works of such a nature, sacrifices neither objectivity nor historical perspective to appeal to its necessarily limited circle of readers.

The author, secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica, is well known to students of colonial affairs as the historian of the island and the generous friend of specialists in the Caribbean field. Long experience as a writer and thirty-six years' service as warden of St. Andrew's Church amply qualified him for his task, which has been admirably executed.

St. Andrew's Parish was created in 1664, nine years after Penn's and Venables's conquest, with Mr. Zellers, of Swiss origin, as its first minister. There have been but seventeen rectors in 267 years and, interestingly enough, absenteeism has been entirely unknown. Each incumbent in turn has been a conspicuous figure in island society and, thanks to their efforts, St. Andrew's has always been a stronghold of Anglicanism. The parish records, dating back to 1666, are the oldest in Jamaica and shed much light on the early days of settlement. Of particular value to students of social history are the excerpts from birth, marriage, and burial registers, here reproduced for the first time.

George Washington University. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on December 28, 29, and 30. The headquarters will be at the Nicollet Hotel. The chairman of the program committee is Professor Lester B. Shippee, of the University of Minnesota. No session is announced for the afternoon of the third day. The annual business meeting will take place on the afternoon of December 29, followed by the annual dinner and the presidential address. There will be a joint meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, a session of the National Council of Social Studies, and a round table conducted by the American Council of Learned Societies upon Various Categories of Materials for Historical Research. There will also be a meeting of members of state and local historical societies. A luncheon will be tendered to the members of the different groups by the University of Minnesota, and dinners arranged by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Mediaeval Academy, and other organizations meeting with the Association. There will also be a smoker and receptions.

The following sections, with the names of those who will present papers, have thus far been arranged. Monday, December 28, morning session: sections, I., Nineteenth Century Liberalism, H. K. Beale, C. McA. Destler, F. B. Artz; II., Far East, C. B. Malone, T. E. Ennis, P. H. Clyde; III., Byzantine History, A. A. Vasiliev, with discussion led by S. H. Cross and J. L. La Monte; IV., Missionary Activities in America, Grace Nute and Marie Kohnova; V., Aspects of European History, R. L. Reynolds, M. M. Knight, and W. C. Westergaard. Afternoon session: sections, I., Ancient History, A. T. Olmstead, with discussion; II., Medieval Culture, S. M. Brown, F. J. Tschan, L. K. Born; III., Latin American History, Lillian E. Fisher, A. S. Aiton, France Scholes; IV., Agricultural History; V., National Council of Social Studies.

Tuesday, December 29, morning: sections, I., American Foreign Relations, J. W. Pratt, with discussion; II., Renaissance, Katharine J. Gallagher, G. C. Sellery; III., Slavonic History, H. N. Howard; IV., Canadian History, Chester Martin, discussion led by A. L. Burt; V., Joint meeting with Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Afternoon session: Business meeting.

Wednesday, December 30, morning: sections, I., Military and Diplomatic Aspects of the World War, H. A. De Weerd, H. C. Deutsch, F. L. Benns; II., Immigration, M. L. Hansen, with discussion; III., Nineteenth Century England, H. C. Bell, A. L. Cross; IV., The American Historical Association and the Teaching of History in Colleges.

The fifth volume of the *Proceedings* of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association includes the minutes of the annual meeting in December, with the papers presented, except that of Professor T. A. Bailey on The United States and Hawaii during the Spanish-American War, which had already appeared in this journal (XXXVI. 552 ff.).

PERSONAL

Franklin Henry Giddings, the eminent sociologist, died on June 12, at the age of 76. His work as a teacher was begun at Bryn Mawr in 1888. In 1894 he became professor of sociology at Columbia University. Since 1906 he had been professor of sociology and the history of civilization. His best known work was *The Principles of Sociology* (1896), which has been translated into many foreign languages.

The readers of Edward Channing's *History of the United States,* referred to among his students as "The Great Work", could not fail to discover evidences in many a paragraph that behind these pages of description and interpretation there was not only a keen and penetrating intelligence but also an interesting personality. Of this they were naturally eager to know more. They will read Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's *Edward Channing, a Memoir* with a feeling of rewarded curiosity. Professor Morison has told the story of Channing's university career, the genesis and development of his writings, but he has done something more, he has sketched with warm sympathy and delightful humor the essential lines of the real figure. The *Memoir,* taken from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. LXIV., has been issued separately.

In few places is there better biographical writing than in the memoirs commemorative of deceased members which are put forth by the British Academy. Three, recently issued (London, Humphrey Milford), are of Lord Balfour, of Professor T. F. Tout, by Professor F. M. Powicke, and of Leonard T. Hobhouse, by Ernest Barker. Another pamphlet, of greater compass (pp. 63) is the Henriette Hertz Lecture—*Hugo Grotius,* by R. W. Lee, Regius Professor of the Civil Law at Oxford. A later Hertz Lecture is on Virgil, by Professor J. W. Mackail—a beautiful piece of writing. The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture for 1930 is by M. Ferdinand Lot, on *Bretons et Anglais aux V^e^ et VI^e^ Siècles.*

The following promotions may be noted: *University of Illinois,* E. L. Erickson to be associate professor, R. C. Werner to be assistant professor; *University of South Carolina,* C. M. Ferrell to be professor; *Stanford University,* Yamato Ichihashi to be professor; *University of Wisconsin,* Curtis Nettels to be associate professor, T. E. Strevey to be assistant professor in the university's Extension Division in Milwaukee.

Announcement is made of the following changes in university connection: *Barnard College,* E. H. Byrne, of the University of Wisconsin, to be

professor; *Constantinople Woman's College,* Edith P. Stickney, of Pomona College, to be professor; *University of Kentucky,* P. H. Clyde, of the Ohio State University, to be professor; *University of North Carolina,* C. B. Robson, of the Huntington Library, to be assistant professor; *University of Oregon,* H. J. Noble, of the University of California, to be assistant professor; *Smith College,* W. C. Barnes, of the University of Oregon, to be associate professor.

Professor E. E. Robinson has been designated Margaret Byrne Professor of American history in Stanford University.

Professor Lynn Thorndike will be in Europe on sabbatical leave during the second semester of the coming year. Dr. R. D. W. Connor is to be Kenan Traveling Professor during the year.

Professor C. A. Duniway, who has been Carnegie visiting professor for 1930-1931 in Australia and Japan, has resumed his work as professor of history in Carleton College. During his year of absence Dr. Duniway traveled extensively in eastern and southern Asia, the Near East, and central Europe.

England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844–1856, by Professor V. J. Puryear, of Albany College, is about to be published by the University of California Press. As a Social Science research fellow Professor Puryear has for the past year been collecting material in Europe for a work on British Commercial Policy in the Near East, 1815–1860.

Professor Gilbert Tucker, of the University of Western Ontario, has received an appointment in the department of history of Yale University. His successor in the University of Western Ontario is Professor Hartley Thomas, of Queen's University.

Dr. Roy H. Akagi, visiting lecturer in Japanese affairs, and Mr. Ryusaku Tsunoda, curator of the Japanese collection, who are carrying on the work of the Japanese Culture Center at Columbia University, are also to give courses in the field as members of the department of history.

Professor Samuel H. Cross has succeeded Professor Francis P. Magoun, jr., as managing editor of *Speculum.* Mr. Magoun is in France as exchange professor, on leave of absence from Harvard University.

Professor Clarence E. Carter, of Miami University, has been granted leave of absence in order to accept an appointment by the Department of State at Washington as editor of Territorial Records. His work began on September 1.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen has been elected superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, to succeed Dr. Solon J. Buck, who, as already announced, is to direct the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey. Dr. Blegen has been for nine years assistant superintendent.

Dr. H. B. Learned is to be acting professor of history at Stanford University for the first two quarters, beginning on October 1.

The new chair of Economic history at Oxford University has been filled by the appointment of Mr. G. N. Clark, fellow of Oriel College, and formerly editor of the *English Historical Review*.

A volume of essays in honor of George Lincoln Burr, with the title of *Persecution and Liberty* (New York, Century Company) has been issued by his former students. The introduction is contributed by J. Franklin Jameson. The essays are: The Theory of Persecution, by Ernest W. Nelson; Hebrew History and Historical Method, by A. T. Olmstead; Nugae Palaeographicae, by E. A. Lowe; A Lost Diploma of Otto III., by E. V. Moffett; Social Aspects of Medieval Heresy, by Austin P. Evans; The Consent of the English Lower Clergy to Taxation during the Reign of Henry III., by W. E. Lunt; The Attitude of Erasmus toward Toleration, by W. K. Ferguson; Sebastian Castellio and the Toleration Controversy of the Sixteenth Century, by Roland H. Bainton; Lelio Sozzini's Confession of Faith, by Edward M. Hulme; Vincenzo Maggi, a Protestant Politician, by Frederic C. Church; John de Feckenham and the Marian Reaction, by Alfred H. Sweet; The *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* of Jean Bodin, by George H. Sabine; James I. of England and the "Little Beagle" Letters, by Frederick George Marcham; A Seventeenth Century Humanitarian: Hermann Löher, by Lois Oliphant Gibbons; The First Earl of Shaftesbury, by Louise Fargo Brown; Further Considerations on the Origins and Nature of the Enlightened Despotism, by George Matthew Dutcher; The Young Barère, by Leo Gershoy; Early Revolutionary Newspapers, by George Gordon Andrews; The French Revolution: Conspiracy or Circumstance? by Louis R. Gottschalk; Agitation Against the Slave Trade in Rhode Island, by Elizabeth Donnan.

The prize of $5000 offered jointly by the Atlantic Monthly Press and Little, Brown and Company for the most interesting book in manuscript dealing with American conditions has been awarded to Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, who is also director of the Stewart Commission on Western History. Professor Hulbert's subject was the "Forty-niners", a chronicle of the California gold rush. The book is virtually a composite diary, fashioned after an examination of about two hundred diaries and journals, nearly half of which were found by Dr. and Mrs. Hulbert in European libraries. The abundant illustrations are from contemporary cartoons, drawings, and sketches.

Dr. Clark Wissler has been chosen president of the board of directors of *Social Science Abstracts* for the unexpired term of Dr. Isaiah Bowman, who has resigned because of a prolonged absence abroad. Professor William L. Langer has replaced Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes as the represen-

tative of the American Historical Association on the board. The editors are engaged upon a revision of the list of publications from which abstracts are made, this list having grown to 4500 titles.

Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes has contributed the chapter on History in *A Quarter Century of Learning*, published by Columbia University.

GENERAL

The Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, of the American Council of Learned Societies, has issued its first *Bulletin*, with the title of the *Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States of America*. Besides records of conferences and meetings of committees, it includes the following special reports: the Progress of Chinese Studies in American Colleges and Universities, 1929–1930, by Eldon Griffin; Chinese Art in Public Collections in the United States and Canada, 1929–1930, by Benjamin March; and the Major Collections of Chinese Books in America, 1930, by C. B. Kwei. There is also a List of Scholars engaged in Chinese Studies in the United States and Canada and American Scholars so engaged abroad, December, 1930.

The *Publication of Books and Monographs by Learned Societies* is the report of a survey made by John Marshall for the American Council of Learned Societies. It is *Bulletin* no. 16 of the Council (May)[1]. Part 1 deals with the publication of books and monographs by organizations which are constituents of the Council, and pt. 2 with the problems involved. In appendix A the publishing activities of the several societies are described separately. Appendix C shows that proceeds of sales are slow in replacing costs advanced.

The National Council for the Social Studies has issued its *First Yearbook: Some Aspects of the Social Sciences in the Schools, 1931* (Philadelphia, McKinley Publishing Company, pp. 176, $2.00). Among the contributions are: History and Patriotism, by W. E. Dodd; Objectives in History, by Avery O. Craven; and a Review of Some Reports of Controlled Experimentation in Methods of Teaching in the Social Studies, by W. G. Kimmel.

The June *Bulletin* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France) of the International Committee of Historical Sciences is made up of reports of a conference on the Vatican archives held in Rome on March 3, 1930, of the fourth general assembly of the International Committee, in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, April 28–May 3, 1930, and of the commissions which the committee has organized.

The International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation, of the League of Nations, has issued a *Handbook of Reference Centres for International Affairs* (Paris, pp. 161). In each case the aim of the organization, mem-

[1] Books, reviews, and other publications mentioned in this section are of 1931 unless otherwise indicated.

bership, activities, and especially its publications, are listed. The *Handbook* is published in English, French, and German editions.

A committee of archivists, meeting in Paris on April 2 and 3, forwarded a report to the Plenary Meeting of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Coöperation, in which measures were proposed to further the exchange of information upon acquisitions, regulations, arrangement, protection of papers, methods of reproduction, etc. A permanent Advisory Committee of Archivists was also proposed.

The University of Chicago has acquired a collection of 250 unpublished documents bearing on the career of Lafayette. Included in it are letters written by the family lawyers, indicating that the expenses of the marquis in equipping troops for his service under Washington were greater than the income from his estate. Other documents refer to grants of land made to Lafayette by Congress. The collection is believed to be unexcelled in interest by any other private collection.

The second volume of the University of California Publications in International Relations is entitled *The International Institute of Agriculture: an Historical and Critical Analysis of its Organization, Activities, and Policies of Administration,* by Asher Hobson, American representative on the Permanent Committee of the International Institute of Agriculture, 1922–1929 (Berkeley, University of California Press, pp. xi, 356, $3.50).

In May the Huntington Library issued, in coöperation with the Harvard University Press, the first of a series of bulletins. This publication for some time in contemplation now appears in dignified quarto form worthy of the institution it represents. As a series further numbers will be issued at irregular intervals as occasion demands. An appropriate introduction to the first number is provided through a biographical sketch of Henry E. Huntington, by Robert O. Schad. Family papers recently deposited give a finality of detail respecting the remarkable career of this financial magnate who became the greatest single collector of literature and art. An attempt to describe the separate book and manuscript collections which he assembled gave the staff a task of several years duration because of their number and extent. A choice of 100 of the most important large accessions are here briefly described, leaving many in the background and the reader profoundly impressed. The collection of incunabula is equaled only by one or two others in the world. An illustration of what may be found in a single department of knowledge is provided by H. R. Mead, who has selected from these rarities for description 532 medical works in early print. As an indication of what may be expected in the way of new research the *Bulletin* publishes the first chapter of Frederick J. Turner's forthcoming work on the period 1830–1850. This part is devoted to economic conditions in New England during those decades, and should be reviewed with the remainder of the book. Shorter notes on documents and research will find

an outlet here and the beginnings include items from English and Spanish literature. A facsimile of the original instructions of George III. to his peace envoys shows his distaste for the word "independence" for America, but much personal freedom in spelling "seperation" as a substitute. At the close the *Bulletin* announces the acquisition of the library of the late Professor Tout, composed of 4000 volumes and 2000 pamphlets. J. M. V.

It would be difficult to think of a more fitting or impressive memorial of the scientific activity of a faculty for the fifty years of its existence than *A Bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, 1880–1930* (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. xi, 365, $4.00). Professor Howard Lee McBain has written a foreword. The form is one of individual bibliographies, each member of the faculty being listed in the order of his appointment, beginning with the late John W. Burgess, who a half century ago persuaded the trustees of Columbia to create a faculty of political science. Among other great names of men not now living are: Mayo-Smith, Munroe Smith, Osgood, Dunning, Giddings, Sloane, Seager, and Botsford. There is appended a list of the doctoral dissertations written under the direction of this faculty, whether printed separately or in the series of Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

The *Conference on the Press*, published with the financial assistance of Mr. Chester D. Pugsley, is the report of the addresses made at the conference which was held at Princeton University, April 23–25, under the auspices of the School of Public and International Affairs.

Vols. XI. and XII. of the Studies in American Church History published by the Catholic University of America are two dissertations, *The Life and Times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, D.D., First Bishop of Upper Canada, 1762–1840*, by Hugh Joseph Somers, M.A., J.C.B., and *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier, 1789–1844*, by the Rev. William McNamara, C.S.C. (Washington, Catholic University of America, pp. ix, 232; viii, 84).

The Centre International de Synthèse, of which M. Henri Berr is director, organized a year ago a conference called the "Deuxième Semaine", and its subject forms the title of a report of the discussions, *Les Origines de la Société* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, pp. xv, 97, 15 fr.). The conference was intended to bring together biologists, sociologists, and historians. The discussions printed in this little volume are by Étienne Rabaud, of the Sorbonne, the Abbé Breuil, of the Collège de France, Pierre P. Grassé, of Clermont-Ferrand, and Raymond Lantier, of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales.

In vol. XXII. of *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, the following articles appear: Eduard Sthamer, Das Chartular von Sant'

Angelo in Formis; Fedor Schneider, Nachlese in Toscana; Otto Vehse, Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaates bis zum Beginn der Avignonesischen Epoche, I.; Gerd Tellenbach, Zur Politik Landgraf Hermanns des Gelehrten von Hessen; Karl August Fink, Eine Strassburger Kollektorie aus dem Pontifikat Martins V.; Carl Erdmann, Das Wappen und die Fahne der Römischen Kirche. There is also a series of Hontheim's letters, edited by Leo Just under the title, Iustini Febronii Epistola ad Thomam Mamachium, and a brief notice by Jakob Strieder of Das Kaufmännische Archiv der Fugger zu Rom, beside Paul Kehr's annual report of the Institute (1929–1930).

Professor H. C. Hockett has prepared an *Introduction to Research in American History* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xiv, 168, $2.00), which is also to serve as a practical guide to younger writers. By limiting his discussion of methods to the field of American history, excluding techniques applicable to kindred social sciences, the author hopes to make possible a thorough grounding in essentials and at the same time to facilitate the task of the teacher of advanced students. Similar methods are, of course, applicable to work in the European field, if the student is supplied with supplementary lists of aids, etc. Professor Hockett's treatment falls into three parts: the gathering of data, criticism of material, and questions of historical composition. The guidance furnished is detailed and specific. For example, the beginner is told the function of footnotes and precisely how they should be made, including punctuation and abbreviations. Although it is stated that references should be given for every fact, not of general knowledge, it is explained that they may be combined at the close of a paragraph or a series of paragraphs.

Professor Ezra Bowen, head of the department of economics in Lafayette College, contributes no. 343 of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, entitled *An Hypothesis of Population Growth* (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 238, $3.75). His second chapter attempts a revaluation of Malthus, after which he discusses the critics of Malthus, the theories of contemporary anthropologists, and the facts upon which any new formula must be based.

An Interpretative History of Education, by J. Franklin Messenger, Ph. D., dean of the School of Education, University of Idaho (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, pp. xi, 387, $2.00), is intended to emphasize those phases in the development of educational theory and practice which throw light upon present day education in America.

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque* [1928–1930] (Rev. Hist., May).

Vol. II. of the *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale depuis les Origines*

jusqu'à l'Époque d'Alexandre, by G. Contenau, assistant director of the Musée du Louvre, and *Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine,* pt. 1, *Généralités: Travaux Militaires,* by Albert Grenier, of the University of Strasbourg, have been added to the valuable series of manuals published by A. Picard.

The Oriental Institute Communications, no. 10, is made up of the two *Medinet Habu Reports:* first, *The Epigraphic Survey, 1928–1931,* by Harold H. Nelson, and second, *The Architectural Survey, 1929–1930,* by Uvo Hölscher (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 69, $1.00).

M. Léon Cahen has published an *Esquisse d'Histoire de l'Orient et de la Grèce* (Paris, Alcan, pp. viii, 220, 12 fr.), divided into forty-eight "leçons", the aim of which is to awaken the interest of the reader in the results of recent investigation and to offer an introduction to more comprehensive works.

Excavations have been conducted by the British School of Egyptian Archaeology at Tell Ajjul near Gaza, a site which has been occupied from the Hyksos to the copper age. Houses in good condition and long straight streets have been laid bare. At Megiddo, under the Oriental Institute, a fresh part of the site is being uncovered. At Samaria late buildings have hindered the search of the Omri city, but a Herodian hippodrome has been cleared and iron age pottery found beneath it by the Harvard expedition (*Ancient Egypt,* December and March). In *Syria,* XII. 1, Einar Gjerstad gives a summary of Swedish excavations in Cyprus and F. A. Schaeffer, of the excavations at Ras-Shamra and Minet-el-Beida. In the *Journal* of the Palestine Oriental Society, XI. 2, W. F. Albright reports on the third campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim. In Athens excavations in the Agora have been in progress; recent finds are discussed by E. P. B. in News Items from Athens, in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* June. Professor Robinson reports further discoveries in his second campaign at Olynthus, of terra cottas, coins, pottery, and house plans. In *Atene e Roma,* March, L. Pernier describes recent Italian excavations in Cyrene. In the *Bullettino Comunale,* 1930, 1–4 (published 1931) is a summary of the recent discoveries in Roman archæology.

Two articles of considerable importance are devoted by G. A. Wainwright to the people known as Keftiu, the first in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* May, entitled Keftiu, and the second in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* July, entitled Keftiu, Crete or Cilicia? In the first the author opposes the view that the Keftiu were Cretans, 'People of the Islands', and from a comparison of the names of Keftiu, and of the words of Keftiu in a spell in Egyptian hieratic writings of the fifteenth century B.C. with the names of persons and places peculiar to Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, finds strong grounds for the identification of the Keftiu with the people of these

regions, and for the assumption of a close relation between them and the Philistines, and the somewhat later invaders of Armenia. The second article draws similar conclusions from a study of the dress in the Egyptian representations of this same people.

A number of articles have appeared in criticism of historical sources: G. Mathieu, Une Source d'Hérodote, Dikaeos d'Athènes (*Rev. des Études Anc.*, June); A. Momigliano, Erodoto e Tucidide sul Terremoto di Delo (*Studi Ital. di Filol. Class.*, VIII. 1), Studi sulla Storiographia Greca del IV. Secolo, pt. 1, Teopompo (*Riv. di Filol.*, June), and Tradizione e Invenzione in Ctesia (*Atene e Roma*, Mar.). In *Atene e Roma* for September, appears F. Rosenelli's Le Relazioni fra Erodoto e Tucidide. H. T. Wade-Gery, in The Financial Decrees of Kallias (*Jour. of Hellen. Studies*, July), discusses anew this "Lorelei among inscriptions". He favors 422/1 B.C. as the date, and the identification of Kallias with the famous Kallias, the son of Hipponicus.

The German edition of Professor Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* has just appeared (*Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Römischen Kaiserreich*, 2 vols., Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer). The English edition of 1926 has been subjected to thorough revision, both the text and especially the notes, in order to mention and evaluate new sources and new discussions which have appeared in the intervening period. A new section is added on Nubia. While the author takes account of criticisms of his previous edition, he has made few changes in his fundamental theses.

In Roman law and institutions two articles which appeared in *Studi in Honore di P. Bonifante* (Milan, 1930) are Wesen und Ziele der Antiken Rechtsgeschichte, by L. Wenger, and Geschichte der Rezeption der Römischen Privatrechts in Aegypten, by R. Taubenschlag. Other articles are: Étude sur la Situation de la Femme dans l'Ancien Droit Romain (*Rev. Hist. de Droit Fr. et Étr.*, Mar.), by G. Fotino; Roman Law as illustrated in Pliny's Letters (*Cam. Law Jour.*, IV. 2), by D. T. Oliver; La Répartition Tributaire des Citoyens Romains et ses Conséquences Démographiques (*Rev. Belge*, IX. 3/4), by E. Cavaignac; The Freedman's Son in Municipal Life (*Jour. of Rom. Studies*, June), by M. L. Gordon.

Repetita, by W. E. Heitland, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1930), is a brief and moderate restatement of views which the author has already expressed and defended in *The Roman Fate* (1922), *Iterum* (1925), and *Last Words on Roman Municipalities* (1928). Mr. Heitland's thesis in short is this, that the municipal system, the principal means employed by Rome to incorporate or amalgamate her subject peoples, was ill-calculated to serve its purpose, for, although the empire's primary need was the production of an organic union of its parts, the isolation and division and concentration upon local interests which were the result of the municipal sys-

tem prevented any national feeling or any sense of imperial responsibility from arising in the towns. In this view there is much with which we must agree. It is, however, perhaps faulty to hold that the Romans considered the municipal system as a means of incorporation rather than as a traditional form of organization, inherited and natural to them. The extension of the imperial cults, the formation of provincial assemblies, and the extension of citizenship show that isolation and division were not the only policies followed. The author's discussion of the weaknesses inherent in the municipal system might also take greater account of the effect of the disorders of the third century upon all the resources and organizations of the empire.

Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province, by W. E. Gwatkin, Ph.D., a monograph in the University of Missouri Studies (1930), is a close study of the internal administration and external relationships of Cappadocia from its constitution in 17 A.D. until the formation, probably in 72 A.D., of the Galatia-Cappadocia complex. The author in five chapters discusses the circumstances of the trial of Archelaus and the decision to constitute the province, its economic resources and internal administration, its relation to the Eastern policies of Tiberius and Claudius, and of Nero, and the formation by Vespasian of the province of Galatia-Cappadocia with its own legionary garrison. The author has made a careful and useful collection of the material for the history of Cappadocia during this period, and for a study of its economic importance. He has also performed good service by discussing in detail the relation of this area to Roman activities and policies in Armenia and Parthia.

Articles: Thomas Eric Peet, *Mathematics in Ancient Egypt* (Bull. John Rylands Library, July); Flinders Petrie, *A Revision of History* (Anc. Egypt, Mar.); S. Langdon, *A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins* (Jour. Royal As. Soc., July); A. Deimel, *Sumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urukaginas und seiner Vorgänger* (An. Orient., 1931); M. Rostovtzeff, *Dieux et Chevaux: à propos de Quelques Bronzes d'Anatolie, de Syrie, et d'Arménie* (Syria, XII. 1); R. Neuville and A. Mallon, *Les Débuts de l'Age des Métaux dans les Grottes du Désert de Judée* (*ibid.*); G. Beyer, *Beiträge zur Territorialgeschichte von Südwest Palästina in Altertum* (Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins, 54, 3); H. Hänsler, *Der Historische Hintergrund von Richter* (*ibid.*); F. W. v. Bissing, *Untersuchungen über Zeit und Stil der "Chetitischen" Reliefs* (Arch. f. Orient Forschung, VI. 4–5); F. Heichelhein, *Zwei Historische Daten im Jahrzehnt der Pentakontaetie* (Zeitsch. für Numismatik, XL, 1/2); Casper J. Kraemer, jr., *A Greek Element in Egyptian Dancing* (Am. Jour. of Arch., vol. XXXV., no. 2); M. Ravà, *Interno ai Tributi degli Alleati di Atene* (Studi Ital. di Filol. Class., VIII. 2); J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade et les Élections des Stratèges Athéniens en 406* (Rev. des Études Anc., June); W. Schwahn, *Boiotische Stadtanleihen aus dem*

Dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Hermes, July); F. W. Shipley, *Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, IX.); R. P. Longden, *Notes on the Parthian Campaigns of Trajan* (Jour. of Rom. Studies, 1931, 1); A. H. M. Jones, *The Urbanization of Palestine* (*ibid.*); J. Toutain, *La Religion Romaine d'après les "Fastes" d'Ovide* (Jour. des Sav., Mar.); Aimé Puech, *L'Empereur Julien* (*ibid.*, Feb.).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: Hans Leube, *Alte und Mittelalterliche Kirchengeschichte* (Arch. für Kulturg., Bd. XXI., Heft 3, 1931); R. Maere, *L'Étude de l'Archéologie Chrétienne en Belgique, 1830–1930* (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., July).

At the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy in April, the address of the president, Professor Dana C. Munro, dealt with The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades. It is printed in the July *Speculum*.

Three projects of research sponsored by the Mediaeval Academy have already been mentioned here: (1) The English Government at Work, 1327–1336, under the direction of Professor J. F. Willard; (2) a Glossary of Mediaeval Italian Terms of Business, under the direction of Professor N. S. B. Gras; (3) Papal Relations with England to 1534, under the direction of Professor W. E. Lunt. For his work Professor Willard has secured the collaboration of fifteen American, and seven British, scholars. Professor Gras expects to publish the first section of the glossary this autumn. Associated with Professor Lunt are Professors E. B. Graves, P. B. Schaeffer, Hugh MacKenzie, and A. H. Sweet. Miss Ann Deeley is the British collaborator.

Bulletin no. 9 of the Mediaeval Academy, like its predecessors, is entitled *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America*. During the absence of Professor J. F. Willard the publication of the *Bulletin* has been entrusted to Professor Irene P. McKeehan and Professor Erwin F. Meyer as associate editors. They have introduced a new section called Fields of Interest of Medievalists.

The Mediaeval Academy will continue its series of publications with the *Concordance of Prudentius*, by Professor R. J. Deferari and Mr. J. M. Campbell; *Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377*, by Dr. Alice Beardwood; and a study of the script of Cologne, by Professor Leslie W. Jones.

The February number of the *Franziskanische Studien* is devoted chiefly to articles concerning Saint Anthony of Padua.

The University of Greifswald has published as no. 29 of its lecture series

Der Kampf um die Ostsee vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert, by Dr. Adolph Hofmeister.

The unhappy mission of Cardinal Humbert to Constantine Monomachus and the patriarch Michael Cerularius at Constantinople on the eve of the Great Schism is discussed with much learning and with publication of documents hitherto unprinted, by Anton Michel in his *Humbert und Kerularios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI. Jahrhunderts,* pt. 2 (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1930, pp. xii, 495, vol. XXIII. of the Görresgesellschaft's Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte).

The excavations undertaken at Cluny by the Mediaeval Academy make especially opportune the publications of Dr. Joan Evans's *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910–1157* (Oxford, University Press, 15 s.).

An interesting study of the notifications of their election sent out by medieval popes has been made by Felix Gutmann in *Die Wahlanzeigen der Päpste bis zum Ende der Avignonesischen Zeit* (Marburger Studien zur Aelteren Deutschen Geschichte, ser. II., Heft 3; Marburg, Elwert, pp. xv, 94). Presumably sent by all bishops at first together with a confession of faith, the recipients being other bishops, the earliest existing papal letter dates from the third century. The earliest to a secular ruler is from Odoacer's Pope Felix III. to the Eastern Emperor Zeno (483). From the seventh to the ninth centuries, they request imperial confirmation of the election through the exarch; from the ninth to the eleventh, similar confirmation is sought from the German emperor. After this date, they become mere announcements of the fact, addressed to an ever wider circle of ecclesiastical and secular recipients, and changing from individual letters of personal interest to encyclicals of typical form.

A comprehensive study of the relations between the Western world and the Tartars from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century has been made by Giovanni Soranzo under the title *Il Papato, l'Europa Cristiana e i Tartari: un Secolo di Penetrazione Occidentale in Asia* (Milan, 1930, pp. xii, 624, Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, ser. V., vol. XII.).

In the University of California *Chronicle* for July William L. Schwartz has published Scenes from Le Mystère de la Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, by Arnoul Greban, organist of Notre Dame, 1450–1456.

Articles: Roberto Cessi, *Il Costituto di Costantino* [content and genesis of the Donation of Constantine in light of recent criticism] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Apr.); A. Brackmann, *Die Anfänge der Slavenmission und die Renovatio Imperii des Jahres 800* (Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft., 1931, VII.–IX.); Karl G. Hugelmann, *Die Deutsche Nation und der Deutsche Nationalstaat im Mittelalter* (Hist. Jahr., Bd. LI., Heft 1,

1931); Louis Gillet, *Byzance au Pavillon de Marsan* (Rev. des D. M., June 15); John R. Williams, *The Authorship of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* (Speculum, July); John M. Manly, *Roger Bacon and the Voynich MS.* (*ibid.*); Herbert Grundmann, *Zur Geschichte der Beginen im 13. Jahrhundert* (Arch. für Kulturg., Bd. XXI., Heft 3, 1931); Louis Halphen, *Les Universités au XIII^e Siècle: la Conquête de l'Autonomie, la Bataille de l'Aristotélisme* (Rev. Hist., Mar., May); Montague R. Jones, *The Bestiary* (History, Apr.); Raffaele Ciasca, *Dante e l'Arte Medici e Speziale* (Arch. Stor. Ital., ser. 7, vol. XV., 1); E. F. Jacob, *Some English Documents of the Conciliar Movement* (Bull., John Rylands Library, July). Lynn Thorndike, *Giovanni Garzoni* [1419–1505] *on Ruling a City* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: Hans Baron, *Renaissance in Italien* (Arch. für Kulturg., Bd. XXI., Heft 3); Frederic C. Church, *The Literature of the Italian Reformation* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Sept.); Mary E. Townsend, *Some Recent Publications dealing with the Reign of William II.* (*ibid.*).

Professor Carl Becker's *Modern History* (Boston, Silver, Burdette, pp. xi, 825, xxiv [index]) will be examined with interest not only as embodying the reflections of so suggestive an interpreter of contemporary civilization, but also because of its thoroughgoing solution of the problem of selecting from the vast multiplicity of conditions and events those which best explain the development of this civilization. How he treats the problem of selection may be indicated by a single example; he explains the old régime by describing two characteristic situations—life on a typical French manor and in a typical French provincial city. Only a paragraph of comparison and contrast is given to conditions in other countries. Professor Becker takes the year 1600, rather than the traditional 1453, as the beginning of modern times, because at that time were present already what he regards as the five essential features of our civilization: scientific knowledge, economic interdependence, humane feeling and democratic ideas, nationalism, and internationalism. A final comprehensive chapter reviews The New World of Today.

Modern Europe, 1789–1930, by D. B. Horn, D.Litt. (London, Harrap, pp. 408, 5 s.) is vol. IV. of a series dealing with the History of Europe. Although primarily intended for use as a textbook, it aims to furnish the general reader with a brief compendium on the period. The emphasis is on political and diplomatic history, but a final chapter is devoted to Economic Developments. The portraits of leading personages are unusually well selected.

In writing *A History of Socialism,* S. F. Markham (London, A. and C.

Black; New York, Macmillan, pp. viii, 328, $2.75) was given by his publishers unrestricted use of Thomas Kirkup's *History of Socialism,* the latest edition of which was prepared in 1913 by E. R. Pease. It thus replaces Kirkup's useful volume, bringing the discussion of the subject down to 1930. About one half of the book deals with the post-war period.

A work of deep interest in the study of the phenomena of war is *La Défense de la Santé Publique pendant la Guerre,* by Dr. Léon Bernard, of the faculty of medicine of Paris (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France; New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. vii, 338, 36 fr.). The sinister consequences of such a struggle are particularly evident in the chapter on the Assainissement des Champs de Bataille, its more permanent effects in that on protection of Maternité et de l'Enfance.

A Marxist interpretation of the World War has been given by N. P. Poletika in *Saraevskoe Ubijstvo* (the Serajevo Murder), a study of Austro-Serbian relations and of Russian Balkan policy in the period 1903–1914 (Leningrad, Krasnaja Gaseta, 1930, pp. xii, 443). No new documentary material is presented, but the author gives the interesting information that Hartwig's papers were for the most part removed from the Russian archives by his former subordinate, Neratov, in October, 1917.

In *La Chine Nationaliste, 1912–1930* (Paris, Alcan, pp. v, 193, 15 fr.), M. Jean Rodes, the well-known correspondent, long a resident in China, sums up his impressions of the revolution and characterizes the attitude of the powers. He feels that the policy of abdication adopted by them under the influence of the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination has permitted China to fall ever deeper into chaos, and that this has had disastrous repercussions in the world of trade.

A book which will be awaited with interest is Dr. A. F. Pribram's *England and the International Policy of the Great Powers, 1871–1914,* which the Oxford University Press is to publish.

So great have been European governmental changes within the past decade that a new description and analysis is unusually serviceable. Professor P. Orman Ray, in his *Major European Governments* (Boston, Ginn and Company, pp. vii, 446, $3.80), has limited his treatment to Great Britain and Ireland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Russia, giving half of his space to the first two governments.

Newest Europe, by Martin MacLaughlin (New York, Longmans, Green, pp. 214, $2.40), deals chiefly with the Continental countries affected by the war. Great Britain is left out of the picture. The author remarks, "Of France, I say little", but he devotes as many pages to saying it as he gives either to Germany or Italy. His comments on the French do not always seem just. It is also a mistake to say that Louis XVI. annexed Corsica or

that Clemenceau began as a socialist. In dealing with other countries there is an obvious effort to be fair.

The papers embodied in *Minorities and Boundaries,* edited by Otto Edward Lessing (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, pp. viii, 154, $1.60), deal with those settlements of the peace conference which have aroused most controversy. They include such questions as Upper Silesia, the Polish Corridor, and Southern Tirol. Two discuss the Anschluss Problem.

Articles: G. T. van Ysselsteyn, *L'Auteur de l'Ouvrage Vindiciae contra Tyrannos, publié sous le Nom de Stephanus Junius Brutus* [perhaps a composite of two writings, one by Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, now usually considered author of the whole, the other by Hubert Languet, formerly supposed to be the author] (Rev. Hist., May); Robert H. George, *The Financial Relations of Louis XIV. and James II.* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Sept.); Sir Richard Lodge, *Lord Hyndford's Embassy to Russia, 1744–1749,* pt. 2 (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); Élise Despréaux, *Le Parti Anti-Français à Pétersbourg pendant la Guerre de Sept Ans* (Rev. des Études Hist., Apr.); R. B. Mowat, *Great Britain and Germany in the Early Twentieth Century* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); Pierre de La Gorce, *La Crise d'Orient en 1840* (Rev. de Paris, June 1); Vaso Trivanovitch, *Serbia, Russia, and Austria during the Rule of Milan Obrenovich, 1868–1878* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Sept.); Maurice Paléologue, *La Démission de M. Delcassé en 1905* [notes from journal, Apr., 1905–Nov., 1906] (Rev. des D. M., June 15); Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Bosnian Annexation Crisis* (Slavonic Rev., Dec., Mar., June); Maximilian Claar, *Aus der Römischen Botschafterzeit des Grafen Monts, 1902–1909* (Eur. Gespr., June); Eduard Ritter von Steinitz, *Berchtolds Politik während des Waffenstillstandes auf dem Balkan* (Berl. Monatshft., Aug.).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: Edward Hughes, *Some Books on Tudor England* (History, July).

According to the *Ninth Annual Report* of the Institute of Historical Research, of the University of London, the Institute has become in effect "a national office for the purpose of historical research". Of the eighty historians, archivists, or university teachers admitted to membership in the year 1929–1930, twenty-two were Americans.

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, having completed its survey of London, has resumed its work in the counties. It has published the first volume of *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Herefordshire* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xlvii, 294, 200 plates, 30 s.). This volume deals with the southwestern section of the county. Its scheme of statement concerning individual monuments is the same as that followed in preceding reports. The term "monument" is used in a comprehensive

sense, and includes not merely churches and castles, but bells, brasses, glass, and plate. Altogether 851 monuments are listed and approximately seventy are noted as "especially worthy of preservation", a technical term meaning that they will be under government care. It may be remarked in passing that the three interesting almshouses in Hereford are on this list. Hereford Cathedral naturally receives detailed description and abundant illustration. The commission remarks that Herefordshire is unusually rich in earthworks, either as prehistoric defenses or as stages in the development of the medieval castle. Twenty-four of these are marked for preservation. Of the castles the most notable is Goodrich. It should be added that there are few Roman remains.

The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire, transcribed and edited with an introduction by G. Herbert Fowler, honorary secretary of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (Manchester, University Press, pp. vii, 418, 15 s.) is the joint publication of the John Rylands Library and the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society. It is transcribed from a manuscript acquired by the library from the Phillips collection in 1911. The editor remarks that the cartulary is noteworthy from the fact that it contains a large number of charters of the late twelfth century, whereas in some similar collections the monastic benefactions seem to fall chiefly in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Appendix I. contains a list of the abbots of Wardon, while appendix III. discusses the interesting question of redemption of land from debt to Jews. To facilitate the study of place-names the editor has furnished a special index of field names.

Mr. A. Goodwin, assistant lecturer in Modern history in the University of Liverpool, contends in his brief account of *The Abbey of St. Edmundsbury* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, pp. vii, 88, 4 s. 6 d.) that the fourteenth century was not a period of such decline in monastic life as is often argued. Much depended upon the individual abbot. The final chapter is entitled Retrenchment and Reform, and covers the years from 1390 to the dissolution. The revival after the Peasants' War was due to the character of the abbots Cratfield and Curteys. This work was the Gladstone Memorial Prize Essay of 1926.

By-Roads in History, being Selections from Readings in English Social History, edited by R. B. Morgan, M.A., M.Litt. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, pp. xi, 172, $1.00), although intended for English school boys and girls will instruct and divert their elders.

James A. Williamson's *A Short History of British Expansion,* of which the second edition in two volumes was recently reviewed in this journal (XXXV. 915) has now been republished in a single volume edition (New York, Macmillan, pp. vii, 470, 315, $4.50).

The Glasgow University Press has issued a history of its publications under the title of *The Glasgow University Press (1638–1931), with Some Notes on Scottish Printing in the Last Three Hundred Years.* The author is James MacLehose.

Mr. Alastair Macpherson Grant has prepared an account of *General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720–1806* (London, published privately, 1930, pp. 108, 5 s. 6 d.), which also illustrates conditions in the Highlands when the first Highland regiments were being recruited. American readers will be especially interested in the echoes both of the Forbes campaign of 1758 and of the fighting on Long Island and in the Jerseys in 1776. In the first, Grant came into contact with the still youthful Virginia officer, George Washington. In the second campaign the contacts were not so pleasant for either. Apparently Grant disliked particularly those whom he called the "Yankees". Giving an account of the Battle of Long Island to a friend in England, he wrote on September 2, 1776, "if a good Bleeding can bring those Bible-faced Yankees to their Senses—the fever of Independence should soon abate". Later he calls them "those cursed saints". The letters from which the author has made selections, written by Grant and his comrades, were found in the Public Record Office.

In *Edmondo Burke e l'Indirizzo Storico nelle Scienze Politiche* (Turin, Presso l'Istituto Giuridico della R. Università, 1930, pp. 116), Mario Einaudi gives an analysis of Burke's thought and of certain currents of English political philosophy which influenced him. The subject has not been treated in any previous Italian monograph. The essay was first presented as a doctoral thesis in jurisprudence at the University of Turin and was subsequently enlarged by further studies in the United States and England, on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Prince Albert has not lacked for biographical interpretation in the many accounts of Queen Victoria's reign, but he has had no biographer except the writers of official "lives", Sir Theodore Martin and General Grey. This fact makes welcome in America, where he is gratefully remembered, the pleasantly written volume entitled *Prince Consort,* by Frank B. Chancellor (New York, Dial Press, pp. 308, $5.00).

Mr. C. S. S. Higham, in a fourth edition of his *History of the British Empire* (New York, Longmans, Green, pp. x, 308, $1.75), has added two chapters, one dealing with the Irish Free State and the present position of the dominions, the other discussing the problem of India.

The second edition of J. H. Clapham's *An Economic History of Modern Britain: the Early Railway Age, 1820–1850* (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. xvi, 623, $6.75), is essentially a second printing of the original edition of 1926, with no alterations in plan or pagination. In all, approximately sixty emendations have been noted, chiefly in

connection with the sections dealing with wage and population figures, the decline of freeholders, the details of the invention of machinery, and the export of capital. Certain priorities in invention and usage have been noted, such as the use of the word "socialist" as early as 1824. More important are the added references in the footnotes to all the new literature which has appeared since 1926, particularly A. Redford's *Labour Migration in England,* L. H. Jenks's *Migration of British Capital,* and articles in the new economic history journals. F. C. D.

Vol. IX., no. 3, of the University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, is entitled *Edwin Chadwick and the Early Public Health Movement in England,* by Dorsey L. Jones, Ph.D. (Iowa City, pp. 160).

Land Problems and Policies in the African Mandates of the British Commonwealth, by Nick P. Mitchell, jr., M.A., with a foreword by Charles W. Pipkin, Ph.D., LL.D., is no. 2 of the series of University Studies, published by the Louisiana State University Press (Baton Rouge, pp. xvi, 155).

Articles: Henri Prentout, *Simon de Montfort et les Origines du Parlement d'Angleterre,* I. (Jour. des Sav., Mar.); H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, *The Parliaments of Edward III.* [concl.] (Bull., Inst. of Hist. Research, June); K. L. Wood-Legh, *Sheriffs, Lawyers, and Belted Knights in the Parliaments of Edward III.* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); A. E. Prince, *The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cromwell's Parliamentary Lists* (Bull., Inst. of Hist. Research, June); F. J. Powicke, ed., *Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. R. Baxter and the Rev. J. Eliot,* pt. 2 (Bull., John Rylands Library, July); J. R. Powell, *Blake's Reduction of the Scilly Isles in 1651* (Mariner's Mirror, July); F. Cabrol, *Bossuet, ses Relations avec l'Angleterre* [panegyrics, funeral orations, polemics, relations with James II., English attitude toward Bossuet] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., July).

FRANCE

General review: Charles Samaran, *Histoire de France: Fin du Moyen Age, 1328–1498* (Rev. Hist., May).

The *Annuaire* de la Fédération Historique, Lorraine, for the year 1930 [Annales de l'Est de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy] (Nancy, Berger-Levrault, pp. viii, 226, 25 fr.) gives the record of the fourth congress of the federation, held at Metz on June 29–30, 1930, together with the papers presented, which range from prehistoric Lorraine to the period of the empire.

To the series called the Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences has been added a volume entitled *Une Figure de Premier Plan dans nos Lettres de la Renaissance: Agrippa d'Aubigné,* by Jean Plattard, professor in the University of Poitiers (Paris, Boivin, pp. vi, 142, 12 fr.).

In discussing Aubigné's characteristics as an historian, the author refers particularly to the care taken by the Huguenot writer in collecting material for his latest work, an account of the war of Louis XIII. against the Protestants. This had remained in manuscript until 1926, when Professor Plattard edited it for the Société de l'Histoire de France. He thinks this work should distinctly enhance Aubigné's reputation as a trustworthy historical writer.

Dr. Beatrice Reynolds's volume on the *Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth Century France: Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin* (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 210, $3.50) is chiefly an analysis of Hotman's *Franco-Gallia,* and Bodin's *Methodus* and *La République,* with an account of the intellectual ferment which gives these works their setting. It is no. 334 of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

A new volume in the series of Landmarks in History, edited by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, is *Voltaire and the Enlightenment: Selections from Voltaire newly translated,* with an introduction, by Professor Norman L. Torrey, of Yale University (New York, F. S. Crofts, pp. 97, 85 cents). The selections fall under three heads: Social and Political Ideas, Philosophical Ideas, and Religious Ideas. It is significant of the age in which he lived that Voltaire actually had so little to say about what we mean by social conditions. He is not blind to the situation of the peasant taxed to pay for the luxuries of the court, but he finds some consolation in the fact that the demand for such things does furnish a market for the peasant's wheat, wool, and silk.

Although much has been done on the economic history of the French Revolution there is no comprehensive study of the actual administration of the General Maximum. The volumes of documents upon the grain trade and its regulation, issued under the auspices of the great French commission, throw a good deal of light upon one phase of price fixing. Volumes on the prices of other commodities may now be expected, for the commission has issued the long-announced *Maximum Général, Instruction, Recueil de Textes et Notes* (Paris, Leroux, 1930, pp. 183, 35 fr.). M. Pierre Caron has written the notes on the laws, adding some remarks upon their administration. In the Instruction with which the volume is prefaced the commission makes the significant remark, indicative of the difficulties which confront the investigator: "Ce qu'on peut affirmer dès maintenant sans crainte de se tromper, c'est que les textes sont rares qui renseignent directement sur un point capital: l'observation ou non-observation du maximum dans les transactions commerciales, par les vendeurs et les acheteurs."

The history of French law is of especial importance for the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, and for the Restoration which stabilized the changes. This is the theme of *Histoire Générale du Droit*

Privé Français, 1789–1830, by Pierre Paul Viard, professor of the history of law at the University of Montpellier (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 148, 25 fr.).

A second and cheaper edition is now available of Godfrey Elton's *The Revolutionary Idea in France, 1789–1871* (London, Edwin Arnold; New York, Longmans, Green, pp. vi, 191, $2.00). The first edition appeared in 1923 and was reviewed in this journal (XXIX. 597).

Students of the Revolution of 1830 will find in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* for May–June a summary and description of the different series of documents preserved at the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs which offer material on the various phases of the movement. This is especially useful because no inventory of the two series of Correspondance Politique and of Mémoires et Documents has been prepared.

A great Alsatian bank, the Société Générale Alsacienne de Banque, in planning to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary this month, has included a work dealing with its own activities and entrusted its preparation to M. Paul Leuillot, of the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale,* giving him unrestricted access to all the bank records. With the several types of records as his illustrations, M. Leuillot, in the July number of that journal, shows how important for history these various records are, a commentary instructive in America, where this fact is just beginning to be perceived.

Anyone fortunate enough to have had a close view of Marshal Lyautey, with his alert, deeply lined countenance, his clear eyes, and his erect bearing, seemingly always ready for immediate decisions, must have gone away believing that he had seen the last of the *conquistadores.* What a subject for a biographer like André Maurois! M. Maurois's volume is small and it is simply entitled *Lyautey* (Paris, Plon, pp. 351, 15 fr.). He shows that inborn qualities and family tradition had a principal part in the destiny of the soldier who won rather than conquered Morocco, and that chance, too, entered into his career. Strangely enough it was General Boisdeffre, remembered unpleasantly for his connections with the Dreyfus affair, who gave the young Lyautey his first opportunity in Indo-China, and the reason was that he needed "changer d'air", his reforming tendencies having antagonized certain of his superiors and so blocked his path. In Tonkin he fortunately was put under General Gallieni, and later Gallieni carried him off to Madagascar. His future was now marked out, and the time came when he was the necessary man for the Moroccan adventure, and found a place high among the builders of the French colonial empire. M. Maurois thinks that the circumstances of his return to France after his resignation in 1925 offer an astonishing example of the ingratitude of republics.

Articles: Henri Hauser, *Économistes, Historiens, Hommes d'Action, un Précurseur: Jean Bodin, Angevin, 1529 ou 1530–1596* (An. d'Hist. Éc.

et Soc., July 15); Gabriel Hanotaux and the Duc de la Force, *Richelieu Premier Ministre* (Rev. des D. M., July 1, 15, Aug. 1); Maximin Deloche, *La Chambre de Louis XIII. et le Cardinal de Richelieu* [Richelieu's difficulties due to influence of the royal *valets de chambre* and of the wardrobe over the king] (Rev. Hist., May); Henri Sée, *De l'Équivalence des Anciennes et des Nouvelles Mesures dans le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* [tables for conversion of old weights and measures into those of metric system, according to instructions of prefect, year XI.] (An. de Bretagne, XXXIX. 2); Henri Sée, *La Chambre de Justice de 1716 en Bretagne* (*ibid.*); Albert Mathiez, *Les Girondins et la Cour à la Veille du 10 Août* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., May); Jacques Godechot, *L'Aérostation Militaire sous le Directoire* (*ibid.*); E. Schlumberger-Vischer, ed., *Lettres de Morin, Secrétaire de Masséna, An 7 de la République* (Basler Zeitsch., XXIX.); C. Vidal, *Une Bataille Diplomatique au Temps de Charles X. autour de l'Héritage du Roi de Sardaigne* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 2); R. Durand, *La Révolution de 1830 en Côte d'Or* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., May); Louis Villat, *Besançon en 1830* (*ibid.*); E. J. Pratt, *La Diplomatie Française de 1871 à 1875* [study by an American member of a Vienna seminar under Professor A. F. Pribram; based on *Documents Diplomatiques Français*] (Rev. Hist., May); Charles de Rémusat, *Les Débuts de M. de Rémusat au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Extrait de ses Mémoires Inédits* [1871–1872] (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 2); Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Graf Waldersees Pariser Informationen, 1887: Streiflichter und Stimmungsbilder aus der Dritten Republik* (Preuss. Jahrb., May).

BELGIUM

Boivin and Company of Paris have added to their series entitled Ce qu'il faut connaître, a volume on *Ce qu'il faut connaître de Belgique* (pp. 160, 8 fr.). The treatment is divided equally between the historical and the descriptive. The comments on the historical events selected are brief but suggestive.

Les Archives de l'État en Belgique de 1919 à 1930: Rapports publiés sous la Direction de Joseph Cuvellier, Archiviste Général du Royaume (Brussels, 1930, pp. xii, 820) is a volume of interest to those having reason to consult these archives, containing as it does a list of accessions during the period mentioned, besides nine reports giving a complete account of the present state of the archives. The *Inventaire des Archives des Chambres des Comptes*, the first of whose volumes appeared in 1837 and the fifth in 1879, has been concluded by vol. VI., compiled by M. H. Nelis (Brussels, Gilles, pp. 520). The whole subseries contains 50,963 items, dating from the fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth century.

SWITZERLAND

To his preceding studies of the political institutions of Geneva, Les Institutions Politiques de Genève de 1519 à 1536 (*Étrennes Genevoises,* 1926) and Le Procureur Général de l'Ancienne République de Genève d'après les Édits de 1543 et 1568 (*ibid.,* 1929), Professor Georges Werner, of the University of Geneva, has added another on La Controverse Chapeaurouge-Le Fort sur le Rôle Politique du Procureur Général de l'Ancienne République de Genève. It forms the second *livraison* of vol. XXXV., *Mémoires et Documents,* of the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève (Geneva, A. Jullien, Georg, pp. 183–322).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Germany has no recently written national history, at once learned and popular. Some years ago Erich Marcks planned such an undertaking in four volumes, to be written by Joachimsen, Karl Brandi, F. Wolters, and himself. Since then, two of these men have died and the completion of the plan is uncertain. Brandi has, however, ably executed the part allotted to him, *Deutsche Reformation und Gegenreformation.* The first half-volume, on the German Reformation, was published in 1927; the second, devoted to the Counter Reformation and the Religious Wars appeared in 1930 (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, pp. xv, 329).

New light has been thrown upon the political repercussions of the expulsion of the Protestants from Salzburg by Archbishop Firmian in Joseph Mayr's *Die Emigration der Salzburger Protestanten von 1731–1732: das Spiel der Politischen Kräfte* (Salzburg, Selbstverlag, pp. 191). This problem has usually been discussed from a confessional point of view, although in 1929 Georg Loesche, in Neues über die Ausrottung des Protestantismus in Salzburg, 1731–1732, had given it a broader treatment.

A study of *Baden und die Preussische Unionspolitik 1849–1850* has been made by W. F. Schill on the basis of unpublished Baden, Prussian, and Bavarian sources (Heidelberg, Winter, pp. 195). It portrays the effort of Baden to maintain friendly relations with both Prussia and Austria. It appears as Heft 60 of the Heidelberger Abhandlungen.

Articles: Otto Hintze, *Kalvinismus und Staatsräson in Brandenburg zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* [Johann Sigismund's able councilor, Rheydt, a Calvinist, chiefly responsible for shaping Brandenburg's policy after the model of the Netherlands and France rather than that of Austria and Spain; the Calvinistic attitude traceable in the subsequent evolution of the state; this study based on the first three volumes of *Acta Brandenburgica,* 1603–1608] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 2); Paul Scherrer, ed., *Zwei Neue Schriften Thomas Murners: Mendatia Lutheri, 1524, und Tractatus de Immaculata Virginis Conceptione (1499)* (Basler Zeitsch., XXIX.); Bernhard Sommerlad, *Die Deutschordensballei Thüringen von ihrer Gründung bis zum Aus-*

gang des 15. Jahrhunderts (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Kunst, XIX. 1); Fritz Hartung, *Freiherr vom Stein* [apropos of the centenary of his death] (Zeitsch. für die Gesamt. Staatswiss., XCI. 1).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: Piero Pieri, *Rassegna Ferrucciana* [writings dealing with the last Florentine republic, sixteenth century] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Apr.).

As a fitting memorial of the centenary of the birth of Thomas Hodgkin on July 29, 1831, a new edition of his *Italy and her Invaders* has been issued by the Oxford University Press. It is an exact reproduction of the second edition, except for the binding.

The valuable work of V. Pancotti on the economic organization of an important Italian city in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *I Paratici Piacentini e i loro Statuti,* has reached its third and last volume (Piacenza, Del Maino, 1930, pp. 441).

In *Vittorio Alfieri, Forerunner of Italian Nationalism* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 175, $3.00), Dr. Gaudence Megaro expresses his sympathy with Croce's view that the germs of the Risorgimento must be sought beyond the borders of the nineteenth century. He analyzes the poet's attitude as revealed in his works, especially in *Il Misogallo.* At times it seems as if Alfieri's nationalism, like that of so many others in the same period, was chiefly an intense emotional reaction against the French Revolution.

By the publication of vols. III. and IV. of the Minghetti-Pasolini correspondence, *Carteggio fra Marco Minghetti e Giuseppe Pasolini* (Turin, Bocca, 35 and 30 l.), an important source of information upon the unification of Italy is completed. The editor is Count Guido Pasolini, grandson of Minghetti's correspondent.

A recent addition to the eminently useful Colin collection is the *Histoire d'Espagne,* by Professor Rafael Altamira y Crevea (Paris, Colin, pp. 222, 10 fr. 50).

Attention is called to a new enterprise for the promotion of Spanish studies, the Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, of which vol. II. of the first series has been edited by H. Finke, in conjunction with K. Beyerle and G. Schreiber, under the title, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1930, pp. 402). Of its seventeen articles, more than half are by specialists not contributing to the first volume; among them are a number of Spanish scholars, C. Sanchez-Albornoz, F. Valls Taberner, P. Leturia. The subject matter is varied, including patristics, liturgics, medicine, philosophy, literature, art, etc.

In *Das Spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen,* a doctoral dissertation, presented at Munich, Francisco J. Montalban seeks to

show that the Spanish conquests in the Pacific were inspired by missionary motives (Freiburg i. Br., Herder, 1930, pp. xi, 131).

Articles: J. Schaub-Gysin, *Drei noch nicht publizierte Römische Depotfunde aus Baselland* (Basler Zeitsch., XXIX.); Francesco De Stefano, *Contributo alla Storia della Sicilia nel Secolo XIV.* [certain letters of Pope John XXII., 1316–1334] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient., XXVI., fasc. i-iii); Matteo Gaudioso, *Il Privilegio di "Affidare" di Alcune "Terre" Baronali della Sicilia Orientale e la Legislazione di Alfonso il Magnanimo* [fifteenth century] (*ibid.*); Francesco Paternò di Carcaci, *L'Inventario e il Testamento di Alvaro Paternò* [1511–1512] (*ibid.*); Carlo Morandi, *Alcuni Aspetti del Risorgimento come Problema Politico Europeo* [influence of European situation on development of Risorgimento and that of Italian unity on foreign policy of chief European states] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Apr.); Francesco Salata, ed., *Pagine d'un Diario Inedito di Carlo Alberto* [the extracts from the diary are in French and date from Dec. 4, 1831, to Apr. 27, 1832] (N. Antol., June 1).

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of Northern history for 1930, prepared by Percy Elfstrand, is published in the (Swedish) *Historisk Tidskrift,* 1931, 1.

The Sibyl of the North, by Faith Compton Mackenzie (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. 263, $3.00), is a study of the aberrations and eccentricities of Christina, queen of Sweden. By a careful selection of materials and episodes Mrs. Mackenzie has been able to prepare an extremely interesting volume, but her narrative does not add greatly to our knowledge either of the queen or of the time in which she lived.

The debate about what actually happened at the meeting in Kalmar in 1397 goes merrily on in the academic shades of Sweden. Josef Sandström in an article on 'what was actually done at the meeting in Kalmar' (Historisk Tidskrift, 1931, 1) criticizes Weibull's views (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI. 897) and refuses to accept his arguments as wholly valid. In the end, however, he comes to a conclusion quite similar to Weibull's: that Margaret's proposal was a proposal only and was not adopted by the magnates. To this, Gottfried Carlsson replies in the same publication (1931, 2) with a vigorous restatement of his position that the proposal was taken quite seriously.

The writings (*Skrifter*) of Axel Oxenstierna are now in their twelfth volume (Norstedt, Stockholm, 1930).

The settlement of the Swedes in eastern Finland is the subject of an important study by N. J. Raudonikas entitled *Die Normannen der Wikingerzeit und das Ladogagebiet* (Vitterhetsakademiens Handlingar, Stockholm, 1930, pp. 151, kr. 10).

On the other side of Europe the eminent Norwegian archæologist, A. W. Brögger, has been studying the process of Norwegian settlement in the Shetlands and the Orkneys. His results have recently been published by the Academy of Sciences in Oslo (*Den Norske Bosetning pa Shetland-Orknöyene,* utgit av det Norske Vitenskaps-Akademi i Oslo, 1930).

Politiske Forutsetninger for Skoleloven av 1896, by Georg Klem, is an effort to sketch the political background of the Norwegian Education Act of 1896. The author is inclined to believe that the arguments advanced in favor of this somewhat radical proposal were political rather than educational. And he quotes with approval the statement that "ever since the days of Plato and Aristotle politics and pedagogy have walked hand in hand".

Articles: Johannes Steenstrup, *Nogle Streiflys over Christian IV.s Tidsalder* [sidelights on the age of Christian IV.] (Historisk Tidsskrift [Danish], 1930, 1); Vilhelm Lorenzen, *Problemer in Københavns Historie* (Historiske Meddelelser om København, 1930, 4); Otto Varenius, *Kielertraktaten, dess Genesis* [genesis of the treaty of Kiel] (Historisk Tidskrift [Swedish], 1931, 2); A. Schück, *Der Deutsche Einwanderung in das Mittelalterliche Schweden* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1930); H. Grönroos, *England, Sverige, och Ryssland, 1719–1721* (Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, 1931, 1); Arthur Montgomery, *L'Évolution Économique de la Suède au XIX^e Siècle,* I., *La Première Moitié du XIX^e Siècle* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., July 15); Andreas Elviken, *Genesis of Norwegian Nationalism* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Sept.); G. Braun, *Zur Ostseepolitik* (Nordische Rundschau, 1931); A. Pogodin, *Der Bericht der Russischen Chronik über die Gründung des Russischen Staates* (Zeitsch. für Osteur. Gesch., 1931, 2); F. Frankowski, *La Dynastie de Saxe sur le Trône de Pologne* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., 1931, 2).

L. M. L.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be mentioned: a photostat of the Book of Chilám Balám of Tizimin; a photostat of the proceedings of the Revolutionary committee of Harford County, Md., 1775–1777; Luther Martin's autograph of the first part of a speech, otherwise unreported, in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787; letter book of Huie Reid and Co., of Dumfries, Va., 1788–1791; correspondence of Andrew Ellicott during his survey of the southwestern boundary of the United States, 1797–1800 (400 letters); photostats of papers relating to the estate of Martha Washington, 1800–1831; account books and letter books of Andrew Stevenson, 1805–1841; letters from America by Mrs. Basil Hall, 1827–1828; letters to James Gordon Bennett and the managing editor of the New York *Herald* from its cor-

respondents at Washington and in the field, 1861–1864 (about 300 letters); letter book of General Herman Haupt, 1862–1863; papers of Lewis M. Haupt, relating mainly to the Nicaraguan and Isthmian canals, 1892–1907; papers of Wharton Barker of Philadelphia, a large collection; additional papers, numerous, of Secretary Richard Olney; the usual large acquisitions of photo-copies of papers for American history in foreign archives; and an exceptional mass of enlargements from those photo-copies hitherto made in the form of films.

It is a satisfaction to know that the first volume of Professor Herbert E. Bolton's *Anza's California Expeditions* is republished separately by Alfred A. Knopf. This volume is the general introduction to the three volumes of documents. Professor Parish described it here (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 839) as opening with a "brief but excellent appraisal of Spanish colonization in America" followed by "a well organized narrative skillfully woven from the material in the documents".

In the second fascicle of vol. XXII. of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* the leading article is Algunas Características de la Cerámica de México, by Eduardo Noguera. It is abundantly illustrated. There is also an extensive bibliography of recent publications in the field, prepared by P. Rivet and M. A. Maurer.

The wide variety of activities, business and professional, in which American women engaged prior to 1776, is surveyed in Dr. Elisabeth Anthony Dexter's *Colonial Women of Affairs* (second and revised edition, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. xxii, 223, $3.50).

The spring *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association contains among other articles an account of An Early American Writer against Quakerism, by Henry J. Cadbury. This writer was Joshua Scottow, and he appears to have been the translator of a work originally published in Lyons. His translation was first issued in London in 1659 under the title of *Johannes Becoldus Redevivus: or the English Quaker, the German Enthusiast Revived: Visible in this Narrative.*

The Harvard University Press has added another to the list of original narratives of Lexington and Concord. This is entitled *Concord Fight, being so much of the Narrative of Ensign Jeremy Lister of the 10th Regiment of Foot as pertains to his Services on the 19th of April, 1775, and to his Experiences in Boston during the Early Months of the Siege* (pp. 56, $1.00). Lister was present as a volunteer, replacing an officer who was prudent enough to become ill when ordered to report for the expedition. Lister makes one contribution when he says of the fighting at the bridge that "our Comp^{ys} was drawn up in order to Street fireing". This statement does not appear to agree with what two other officers report, and yet is regarded as at least probably true, especially since such would be the

suitable formation under the circumstances. Lister had his elbow broken by a bullet during this fight, and his record of his experiences on the retreat is of great interest. It should be added that the British surgeons endangered his life more than did the bullet.

The rôle of the courts in the United States is the subject of Dr. Heinrich Rommen's volume on *Grundrechte, Gesetz und Richter in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.* This is Heft 42 of Studien zum Auslanddeutschtum und zur Auslandkultur, under the general editorship of Georg Schreiber (Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsverhandlung, pp. 141, 4.75 M.). In discussing the grant of wide powers to the courts by the Federal Constitution, Dr. Rommen accepts Dr. Beard's conclusion upon the economic interests which influenced the members of the Federal Convention. In control by the courts these members saw the means of guaranteeing individual liberty and property against the probable attacks of democratic masses. Dr. Rommen illustrates the same problem from the history of Australia, Canada, and Ireland.

John C. Frémont and the Republican Party, by Ruhl Jacob Bartlett, of Tufts College (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1930, pp. viii, 146, $2.00), is no. 17 of the series of Contributions in History and Political Science. It is intended to throw some additional light upon the political maneuvers of the period, without attempting to reinterpret the social or economic causes which may explain the political phenomena.

Those who remember the erect figure of Admiral Mahan and admire his genius will turn with special interest to a volume of letters, written from Annapolis, the *Letters of Alfred Thayer Mahan to Samuel A'Court Ashe, 1858–1859,* edited by Rosa Pendleton Chiles [Duke University Library Bulletin, no. 4] (Durham, Duke University Press, pp. xvii, 121).

The story of Custer's last battle told by Indians who took part in it is related by Thomas B. Marquis, M. D., in *A Warrior who fought Custer* (Minneapolis, Midwest Company, pp. vii, 384, $3.00). The principal narrator was Wooden Leg, a Cheyenne, allied with the Sioux in the struggle. His tale has been supplemented by more than a dozen others. Dr. Marquis feels that as the Cheyennes, whose testimony has been carefully collected, were established on a reservation in the heart of the region their recollections are trustworthy.

Vol. IX. of the University of California Publications in Economics is entitled *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, pp. ix, 260, $3.50). The author is Leo Rogin.

An important phase of social and economic history is dealt with in *Labor and the Sherman Act,* by Edward Berman, Ph.D., assistant professor

of economics in the University of Illinois (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1930, pp. xviii, 332, $3.00). An introduction is written by Professor John R. Commons and a foreword by Professor Felix Frankfurter. In appendix B is a table of cases in which labor unions or their officers and members have been defendants under the act, and in appendix C are brief summaries of cases under such heads as Government Suits for Injunctions, Damage Suits, etc.

Professor Charles E. Merriam, the University of Chicago, has published a second edition of his *New Aspects of Politics* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. xxxii, 253, $3.00). In the preface to this edition he has reviewed some of the more characteristic tendencies in political research since 1925, when the book first appeared.

The addresses delivered at the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which was held in Philadelphia on April 17 and 18, have been published in a volume edited by Ernest Minor Patterson, Ph.D., with the title *Elements of an American Foreign Policy* (pp. 187, $2.50).

The History of the American Association of University Women, 1881–1931, by Dr. Marion Talbot and Dr. Lois K. M. Rosenberry (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. viii, 479, $4.00), is an anniversary publication, summarizing the educational activities of the association since its founding, fifty years ago.

Articles: James A. Robertson, *Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida* (Cath. Hist. Rev., July); Walter A. Dyer, *Embattled Farmers* [Shays's Rebellion] (N. E. Quar., July); E. Francis Brown, *Major Joseph Hawley* [*cf.* letter of Hawley, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* July] (*ibid.*); J. G. Randall, *George Washington and "Entangling Alliances"* (South Atlantic Quar., July); Randolph C. Downes, *The Statehood Contest in Ohio* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Robert G. Albion, *New York and its Rivals, 1815–1860* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., June); Richard H. Shryock, *Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); William S. Merrill, *Pierre Menard of Illinois* (Mid-America, July); Paul W. Gates, *Land Policy of the Illinois Central Railroad* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., June); Margaret K. Kress, translation of the *Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions made by Fray Gaspar José de Solis in the Year 1767–1768* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., July); S. S. McKay, *Texas and Southern Pacific Railroad, 1848–1860* (*ibid.*); John Perry Pritchett, *Selkirk Purchase of the Red River Valley, 1811* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., June); Gustive O. Larson, *The Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); W. H. Walker, *In Service for the Old South* [letters of Augustus T. Dennis, a Confederate soldier, to his wife, 1862] (Aerend, spring); R. H. Woody, *The Labor and Immigration Problem of*

South Carolina during Reconstruction (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Wallace Gates, *Promotion of Agriculture by the Illinois Central Railroad, 1855–1870* (Agri. Hist., Apr.); Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, *General Pershing and the A. E. F.* (For. Aff., July); J. Fred Rippy, *Significance of the Pan American Movement* (South Atlantic Quar., July).

NEW ENGLAND

Vol. LXIII. of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society covering the period from October, 1929, to June, 1930, has been issued by the society.

The Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has issued a volume covering its activities for the period from 1923 to 1931.

An interesting addition to the Smith College Studies in History (vol. XVI., nos. 1, 2, Oct., 1930, and Jan., 1931, published by the department) is *Hadley: a Study of the Political Development of a Typical New England Town from the Official Records, 1659–1930,* by Ellen Elizabeth Callahan. Its scope is broader than the title suggests, for chapters deal with the Development of the Economic Functions of Government, Problems of Social Welfare, Education, and Reactions to Inventions and Progress since 1800. This essay illustrates how fruitful is the field of local history if approached intelligently.

The Connecticut Historical Society, through the generosity of one of its members, has been able to publish a volume entitled *The Two Putnams, Israel and Rufus, in the Havana Expedition, 1762, and in the Mississippi River Exploration, 1772–1773.* Among the contents are the roll of Israel Putnam's company, and the orderly book of the regiment of which he was acting colonel. There are also the journals kept by the two brothers while they acted as members of a committee of the Military Adventurers Company formed by survivors of the Havana expedition and the French and Indian War to locate grants of lands, supposedly made by the king, on the banks of the Mississippi River. A pencil sketch of Israel Putnam, by John Trumbull, is reproduced here for the first time.

The June issue of the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society contains the Journal of a Tour through Vermont to Montreal and Quebec in 1833, by Charles William Eldridge (1811–1883); and a History of Goshen, by Nathan Capen (1816–1900).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Mr. Alexander J. Wall contributes to the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for July an article on Early Newspapers, with a list of the society's collection of papers published in California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Utah. There are also numerous facsimiles.

The July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Rec-*

ord contains, besides continuations and genealogical articles, some records of the town of Eastchester, New York, contributed by Dr. Amos Canfield, and the Revolutionary Roll-Book of Captain Joseph Thomas, contributed by Francis R. Stoddard.

The July *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum prints Robert Webster's Journal from April 5 to November 23, 1759, during the Amherst campaign. He belonged to the fourth Connecticut regiment.

The July issue of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains articles on Jersey Justice in Olden Days, by Charles S. Boyer; on Transportation and Travel in Colonial New Jersey, by Richard P. Powell, jr.; and on Historical Societies, Libraries, and Museums, by William S. Hunt. There are also an account of personal experiences in the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta in 1864, by Major Stephen Pierson, and a reprint, from the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society (January) of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's address on George Washington as a Business Man.

The contents of the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* include an address by Professor Herman V. Ames on the Public Career of Benjamin Franklin, a Life of Service; portions of the journal of Nicholas Biddle relating to Joseph Bonaparte during the period 1816–1839, with introduction and notes by Edward Biddle; the Log and Journal of the Ship *United States* on a Voyage to China in 1784, with introduction and notes by Samuel W. Woodhouse, jr.; and a brief article by the Hon. William R. Riddell entitled Echo in Canada of the Imprisonment by the Assembly of Pennsylvania of Provost, the Reverend William Smith, in 1758.

Paul S. Taylor continues his studies of Mexican labor with *Mexican Labor in the United States, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Berkeley, University of California Publications in Economics, vol. VII., no. 1, pp. ix, 24, 30 cts.).

The principal article in the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is on Algonkian Sites of Westmoreland and Fayette Counties, Pennsylvania, by Robert M. Engberg, with a supplement by George S. Fisher. George W. Hughes contributes an account of the Pioneer Iron Industry in Western Pennsylvania. Captain Samuel Craig's Memoirs of the Civil War and Reconstruction and Edward P. Anderson's study of the Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786–1836, are continued.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The principal article in the June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is by Bromley Smith and is an account of the life of George Calvert at Oxford. There are letters from Rembrandt Peale and Rubens Peale to Charles F. Mayer in 1830.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has in the July num-

ber an article by Allen Bowman, of Huntington College, on the Morale of the American Army in the Latter Half of 1776; pt. 2 of Herbert Thatcher's paper on the life of Dr. John Mitchell, F. R. S., of Virginia; a further installment of Edith E. B. Thomson's account of a Scottish Merchant (William Allason) in Falmouth in the Eighteenth Century; and other continuations.

The William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine begins in the July number the publication of letters from Thomas Jefferson to William Short. These letters, one hundred and forty in number, of which only forty have been printed, were recently presented to the library of William and Mary College by Miss Mary Churchill Short of Louisville, Kentucky. The first of the letters is dated 1784 and the last 1826, two months before Jefferson's death. This number of the *Magazine* contains also the second installment of Colonel J. W. Wright's Notes on the Continental Army.

Articles in the July number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* are: Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina, 1763–1789, by C. C. Crittenden; Procedure in the North Carolina Colonial Assembly, 1731–1770, by Florence Cook; and Moses Waddel and the Willington Academy, by Ralph M. Lyon. An interesting documentary publication is the Journal (1853–1854) of A. S. Merrimon, a young Asheville attorney who afterward became a senator of the United States and chief justice of the supreme court of North Carolina. The Journal, which is edited by A. R. Newsome, pertains to the circuit of a number of western counties.

Mr. Theodore D. Jervey contributes to the July number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a sketch of Barlow Trecothick, who figures in American history in consequence of his motion in the House of Commons in 1770 for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the duty on tea. Miss Mabel L. Webber contributes to the same number some Notes relating to Georgetown, South Carolina. The principal documentary publications are the letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop and the letters of Peter Manigault, both of them continuations.

In the June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* Professor William P. Brandon, of Oglethorpe University, presents a history of the Galphin Claim, a claim which, dating from the beginning of the Revolution and originally against the British government, survived to disturb American politics as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Farish Cater, a Forgotten Man of the Old South, by Ralph B. Flanders, is an intimate account, drawn from recently discovered materials, of the life of an antebellum business man. Dr. Herbert Wender, of Ohio State University, gives an account of the Southern Commercial Convention at Savannah, 1856.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly prints in the July issue, in a translation by André Lafargue and with the title Cavelier de La Salle takes Pos-

session of Louisiana (March 13 and April 9, 1682), an article by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage which appeared in the *Revue Historique des Antilles* of October, 1928, and adds an article by Mr. Lafargue concerning Robert Cavelier de La Salle's House at Lachine, Province of Quebec, Canada. Mr. Henry P. Dart makes two contributions to this issue: a translation of the First Law regulating Land Grants in French Colonial Louisiana (1716), and an article on the Adventures of Dennis Braud, First Printer of Louisiana, with sundry documents pertaining to Braud, which are translated by Laura L. Porteous. An article of especial interest for the history of Southern literature is an account of the brief career in New Orleans of Irwin Russel, the poet, contributed by John S. Kendall. In this issue of the *Quarterly* appears the first installment of a study entitled Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876, by Fanny Z. Lovell Bone.

The Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission has undertaken a large enterprise of copying of material, for the history of Texas, chiefly its Franciscan and other ecclesiastical history, in the archives of Mexico and Guadalajara, and has engaged to direct its researches in the history of the mission era the Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.

WESTERN STATES

Articles in the July number of the *Filson Club Quarterly* are: Grahamton and the Early Textile Mills of Kentucky, by Dr. William A. Pusey; Abraham Lincoln, senior, Grandfather of the President, by Louis A. Warren; and Antecedent Experience in Kentucky of William Maxwell, Ohio's First Printer, by Douglas C. McMurtrie.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, July number, is entirely occupied by a paper on the Red Men of Ohio, written by the late Harvey Wilson Compton, sometime superintendent of the Toledo Public Schools.

The Indiana State Library has received, through Mr. Garvin M. Brown of Indianapolis, a collection of the papers of his grandfather, Austin H. Brown, proprietor of the *Indiana State Sentinel,* 1850–1855, and prominent in political circles of Indianapolis until 1880. Another acquisition is the correspondence of Lucius B. Swift, which includes letters from Roosevelt, Taft, Albert J. Beveridge, Richard H. Dana, and Charles J. Bonaparte.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for April (pp. 162) is devoted to recording the proceedings of the twelfth annual Indiana history conference, held in Indianapolis December 11–13, 1930. The principal papers read during the conference have been or will be printed in the *Indiana Magazine of History.* One, by Professor A. T. Volwiler, on the Senatorial Career of Benjamin Harrison, is a part of the biography of Harrison under preparation by Professor Volwiler.

No. 37 of the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society (the

Society, 1930, pp. 310) contains, besides a record of the proceedings of the annual meeting, May 8–9, 1930, together with the papers read on that occasion, a Diary of William H. H. Ibbetson, as a member of the 122nd regiment of Illinois. It opens on Oct. 8, 1862.

The January number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society contains an extended record of the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of the Westernmost Campaign of the Revolutionary War, at Rock Island, September 14 to 20, 1930, together with an article by John H. Hauberg entitled Why the Rock Island County Sesqui-Centennial. In addition, Professor Theodore C. Pease contributes a paper on the Revolution at Crisis in the West. Other articles are: Lincoln's Early Political Background, by Louis A. Warren; Col. Conrad Weiser, Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Judge, Provincial Interpreter, by Mrs. K. T. Anderson; Dr. John Gale, a Pioneer Army Surgeon, by Dr. Irving S. Cutter; the British-Indian Attack on Pain Court (St. Louis), by Stella M. Drumm; and a Forgotten Hero of Rock Island (Sergeant James Keating of the Royal Artillery Regiment), by M. M. Quaife.

Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., of St. Louis University, is the author of an essay on *Chicago under the French Régime*. It originally appeared in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Missouri Historical Society *Collections,* vol. VI., no. 3 (1931), contains the Journal of Henry B. Miller, chiefly relating to St. Louis and vicinity in 1838, edited by Professor Thomas M. Marshall, and an account of the Pacific Railroad Company (1849–1860), by Dorothy Jennings. The latter article is a chapter of a larger study of railroad development in Missouri before the Civil War. Included also in the volume are three letters: the first, from Dr. James O'Fallon (1791), the second, from Captain Amos Stoddard (1804), and the third, from William Price Hunt to John Jacob Astor (1836).

The July number of the *Missouri Historical Review* is chiefly occupied by continued articles hitherto mentioned in these pages. In addition there is an article on Pioneer Days in "Old Sparta", by Sara L. Williams, also a sketch, by the editorial pen, of Edwin W. Stephens (1849–1931), editor and publisher, and one by F. A. Culmer of Benjamin H. Reeves, member of the first state constitutional convention (1820) and lieutenant governor, 1824.

Henry Ormal Severance, librarian of the University of Missouri, in *The Story of a Village Community* (New York, G. E. Stechert, pp. 178, $2.00), makes a new contribution to the evolution of the frontier. The village in question is Walled Lake in Oakland County, the same county which furnished the theme of Dr. Severance's *Michigan Trailmakers*. The present volume, as Professor Walter Burr points out in the introduction, deals not

so much with the particular village of Walled Lake, although the names and incidents are real, as with "The Town of Everyman", for "Every man past fifty years of age, whose childhood days were spent in an American village, will recognize the story as a picture of his village and of his own boyhood".

Hon. William R. Riddell contributes to the summer number of *Michigan History Magazine* an account of the Indian War Council held at Detroit in 1700; Dr. Hugo Erichsen, some Recollections of Detroit Medical Life in the 80's and 90's; and Anna B. Gray, other "Letters from the Long Ago", the thirteen in this issue being of the period 1840–1843.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an article on the Place-Names of Van Buren County, by T. J. Fitzpatrick, of the University of Nebraska, a continuation of David C. Mott's papers on Abandoned Towns, Villages, and Post Offices of Iowa, and an article by Donald C. McMurtrie on the First Printing at Council Bluffs.

The July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains articles by Jacob A. Swisher on the Iowa Academy of Science; by Hubert H. Hoeltje on Some Iowa Lectures and Conversations of Amos Bronson Alcott; and by Charles E. Hall on Pen Sketches of the Big Woods, a tract of timber in the southern part of Bremer County.

The June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* includes some Notes on the Distribution of the Foreign-Born Scandinavian in Wisconsin in 1905, contributed by Guy-Harold Smith; an article on the Agency House at Fort Winnebago, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; and continuations of the Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford and Herman J. Deutsch's studies of Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics in the Seventies.

Among the recent publications of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee are the *Year Book* for 1929 (May 15) with articles on archæological and historical subjects, richly illustrated, and two *Bulletins*, vol. X., nos. 2 and 3 (June 15), the first entitled A Wisconsin Variant of the Hopewell Culture, by W. C. McKern, and the second, The Dental Pathology of the Prehistoric Indians of Wisconsin, by Alton K. Fisher, Herbert W. Kuhm, and George C. Adami.

Following the Prairie Frontier, by Seth K. Humphrey (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 265, $2.50), is a contribution to the history of the Middle Northwest, drawn from the author's personal experiences or family letters beginning with 1855. In that year his father journeyed from Connecticut to Minnesota.

The Story of the Grand Portage, by Solon J. Buck (Minneapolis, Cook County Historical Society), is a brief essay dealing with the trail, trodden by so many fur traders, from Grand Portage Bay to the upper waters of the Pigeon River which was "the best navigable highway between the Great

Lakes . . . and the great northwestern section of the continent". The essay is provided with maps of the Grand Portage Triangle and of Fort Charlotte.

The June number of *Minnesota History* contains a series of imaginary letters, by the late William W. Folwell, entitled a Visit to Farther-and-Gay Castle and embodying scenes and incidents of early Minnesota history; an article entitled Sod Houses and Prairie Schooners, excerpted from an unpublished volume of reminiscences by William A. Marin of Minneapolis, and two letters, 1850 and 1851, by John C. Laird, describing a journey up the Mississippi from Galena.

Among the contents of the July number of the *Colorado Magazine* are an article on Gunnison in Early days, by Professor C. E. Hagie, of Western State College; one on Zebulon Montgomery Pike, by LeRoy R. Hafen; and the Diary of a Freighting Trip from Kit Carson to Trinidad in 1870, by the late P. G. Scott.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has in the July number an article by William T. Morgan, of Indiana University, entitled a Crisis in the History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1694–1697, and one by Edgar B. Wesley, of the University of Minnesota, entitled a Still Larger View of the So-called Yellowstone Expedition, dealing with "the official aspect of frontier defense in the Northwest during the decade following the War of 1812".

The July number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains an article on Harmful Practices of Indian Traders of the Southwest, 1865–1876, by C. C. Rister; and one on Confederate Government in Doña Ana County, as shown in the records of the probate court, 1861–1862, by Charles S. Walker, jr. There is also a letter from Alexander H. Stephens, July 3, 1850, with an introduction by Colonel M. L. Crimmins. The letter relates to a phase of the Texan question.

Bulletin 100 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, deals with the *Ruins at Kiatuthlanna, Eastern Arizona,* and the author is Frank H. H. Roberts, jr. (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. viii, 193).

The *Arizona Historical Review* has in the July number a brief article by William J. Hunsaker concerning Leonard W. Hastings' Project for the Invasion of Arizona and New Mexico for the Southern Confederacy; a continuation of Colonel C. C. Smith's papers entitled Some Unpublished History of the Southwest; and the translation of a Pima Calendar Stick (1850–1913), contributed by C. H. Southworth.

In the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* the Hon. William H. Murray, writing of the Oklahoma constitutional convention, records "some facts of historical value, hitherto not given publication". Grant

Foreman offers some documents which shed new light on Houston's life among the Cherokees; Orland Morton gives a brief account of Reconstruction in the Creek Nation; and Alfred B. Thomas contributes an article on the First Santa Fé Expedition, 1792–1793, to which is added the Diary of Pedro Vial, who conducted the expedition.

Among the contents of the June number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: an article by Leslie M. Scott on the Nationalism of Lewis and Clark; an account of Thomas Starr King in Oregon, 1862, by William G. Eliot, jr.; a sketch, by J. F. Santee, of Thomas Milton Gatch, successively head of Willamette University, the University of Washington, and Oregon State College; one, by T. C. Elliott, on Wilson Price Hunt, representative of John Jacob Astor in the Astoria enterprise; a description of Umpqua Agriculture in 1851, written by Jesse Applegate; and the second part of the diary of the Douglas Expeditions, 1840–1841, edited by Herman A. Leader.

Among the contributions to the July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are articles on the Oregon Convention of 1843, by C. S. Kingston, and on the Fraser River Gold Rush Adventures, by Robert Frost, with some Notes on Early Settlements and on Geographic Names of Eastern Washington, by J. Orin Oliphant.

CANADA

At the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, held at Ottawa on May 26 and 27, the experiment was made of limiting the papers at each session to two, in order to afford more opportunity for discussion. The results were gratifying. Among those who took part in the discussions was Dr. J. Bartlet Brebner, of Columbia University. Judge F. W. Howay was elected president, to succeed the Hon. Robert Borden.

No. 12 of the Publications of the Public Archives of Canada is made up of *Reports on the Laws of Quebec, 1767–1770* (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, pp. 92 and 95), and is edited by W. P. M. Kennedy, professor of law in the University of Toronto, and Gustave Lanctot, D.Litt., of the Public Archives. The most important documents printed are the reports of Governor Carleton and Chief Justice Hey, which were long thought to be lost, but which Professor Kennedy found in 1924 among the Royal or King's manuscripts in the British Museum. The whole collection throws light upon the origin of those features of the Quebec Act which were concerned with questions of law and procedure. Bound up with the volume is a French version, including cover page and index.

The London and Middlesex Historical Society has published as pt. 14 of its *Transactions,* the diary of the Rev. William Fraser, a pioneer Presbyterian clergyman in Ontario, with an accompanying essay on early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario, by Mr. Harry E. Parker.

Responsible Government in Prince Edward Island, a Triumph of Self-government under the Crown, by W. Ross Livingston, Ph.D., belongs to the series of Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IX., no. 4, of the University of Iowa (Iowa City, pp. 136).

Articles: Viola F. Barnes, *Francis Legge, Governor of Nova Scotia* (N. E. Quar., July); D. G. Creighton, *The Struggle for Financial Control in Lower Canada, 1818–1831* (Can. Hist. Rev., June); Alastair Watt, *The Case of Alexander McLeod* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

In addition to the work of editing the sixty-three volumes of the *Archivo del General Miranda* noted by Professor Robertson in this journal for July, the director of the National Archives of Venezuela, Dr. Vicente Dávila, has recently seen through the press several other publications of interest to students of Latin American history. Besides the regular bimonthly bulletins of the National Archives and of the National Academy of History, of both of which he is editor, he has (as member of an editorial commission) edited a Spanish translation of François Depons, *Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Ferme, dans l'Amérique Méridionale.* This is an offering of the Academy of History on the centenary of the death of Bolívar. Likewise for the same occasion Dr. Dávila has published two volumes of documents from the National Archives. Of these *Hojas Militares,* vol. I., contains the service records of officers of the army and militia of the captaincy general of Venezuela from 1768 to 1810 arranged in alphabetical order to include the letter G; and *Encomiendas,* vol. II., comprises documents describing the exploits of the conquerors of that captaincy general and of the founders of cities therein. These two publications reveal the immense amount of work that has been done under the direction of Dr. Dávila in sorting, editing, arranging, and indexing documents in the National Archives for the convenient use of scholars searching those records.

From Havana also come publications of the Academy of History and of the National Archives. In the *Anales* of the former (vol. XII., 1930) are reports of financial transactions and of coöperation with the government for the preservation of historical monuments and of collections of documents. There is little of particular interest to non-members. An eighteen page pamphlet contains the will of Rudolfo Rodríguez de Armas in which he bequeaths to the Academy of History of Cuba his city house and funds for establishing an annual prize of $400 to be awarded for the best work published on the history of Cuba. Regulations adopted by the academy for carrying out the terms of the bequest are also to be found in this pamphlet. From the academy comes also vol. VII. of its collection of documents, which contains a well indexed series of reprints of documents found in the Archivo General de Indias relating to Cuba, and especially to Havana, edited by Joaquín Llaverías.

Vol. XXIX., nos. 1–6, 1930, of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Cuba reprints documents relating to the attack and capture of Guáimaro on Oct. 29, 1896, and reports, dated 1870, concerning the sailing of the U. S. frigate *Albany* carrying a commission from the United States to the Dominican Republic for the purpose of negotiating for the use of Samaná Bay.

The ministry of public education of Mexico has published the text of the speech delivered by Rafael Pérez Taylor at the centenary of the execution of the hero of independence, Vicente Guerrero, which occurred in the village of Cuilapa in the state of Oaxaca on Feb. 14, 1831.

Bibliophiles will be delighted with the remarkable collection of Mexican colonial and modern bookplates reproduced and described by Felipe Teixidor in his *Ex Libris y Bibliotecas de Mexico.* A short biographical note on the owner of each bookplate follows the reproduction of the plate.

The secretary of public instruction of Mexico publishes *El Libro y el Pueblo,* a monthly periodical devoted to bibliography and to public and school libraries. Numbers 1, 3, and 4 of vol. IX. (1931) contain among other items bibliographies of works on the revolution, of books about Mexico published in 1930, and of recent Mexican books.

Under the direction of the secretary of foreign relations are published documents from the Diplomatic-Historical Archives of Mexico. No. 35 of this series contains documents illustrating the diplomatic career of Dr. (José María Luis) Mora, who was minister from Mexico to London during the eventful years of Mexico's war with the United States. The volume includes an introductory discussion of the diplomatic career of Dr. Mora by Luis Chávez Orozco.

Vol. XVIII., nos. 132–143, of the *Revista del Ateneo de el Salvador,* published by the ministry of public instruction, contains reports of meetings of the Athenæum of El Salvador, including speeches delivered and poems read, as well as lists of members and portraits of some of the most notable.

Articles: Marie R. Madden, *Mexico City Guilds of New Spain* (Mid-America, July); Elizabeth W. Loughran, *Marquis's Hospital* [acquisition by the Mexican government of Cortes family papers from the hospital to which the Marqués de Valle held title] (*ibid.*); E. J. Pratt, *Anglo-American Commercial and Political Rivalry on the Plata, 1820–1830* (Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.).

A. H.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, F. C. Dietz, Alfred Hasbrouck, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, and J. M. Vincent.